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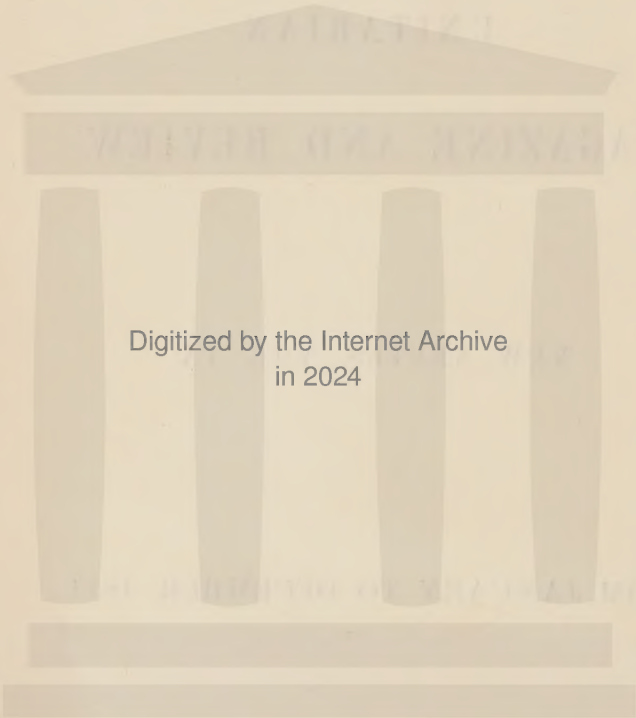

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THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

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CHRISTIANITY IN THE THIRD CENTURY.*

If any of our readers, on seeing the annunciation of a work in four volumes on Hippolytus by the eminent diplomatist who here appears before us in simple literary guise, has consulted Lardner, or the learned article by Mr. J. C. Means in Dr. Smith's Dictionary, he may well have wondered whence the materials for so large a book can have come. For the impression left upon his mind will be, that Hippolytus is a person about whom much has been fabled and little is known, whose very country is uncertain, being variously assigned to Arabia and Italy, and whose reputed works are fragmentary or spurious. M. Bunsen has not been deterred from attempting to infuse order into this chaos, and not only to clear up the most important points in the personal history of Hippolytus and distinguish what is genuine from what is supposititious in his writings, but to deduce from them a picture of Christianity as it existed in the early part of the third century. As Hippolytus had been himself a pupil of Irenæus, who had been the disciple of Polycarp, and Polycarp had been, at Ephesus, the disciple of St. John, he hoped, by the help of his history and writings, to be able to recover the true traditions and doctrines of the apostolic age. To do this, great labour, great learning and critical sagacity were necessary, and of all these the work before us bears abundant proofs. It is evident that criticism and the history of religion have been the author's first love, and that his devotion to them has never cooled, in the midst of those less congenial labours in which his life has for many years been spent.

Probably his work would never have been accomplished, but for the fortunate accident of the discovery of a work of Hippolytus, which had been appropriated by another illustrious name. From one of the convents of Mount Athos, those sepulchres of Greek literature, a MS. was brought to Paris in 1842, and deposited in the Royal Library, treating of the history of heresies

* Hippolytus and his Age, or the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus; and Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity compared. By Christian Charles Josias Bunsen, D.C.L. 4 Volumes.

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and philosophical dogmas. It attracted the notice of a German scholar, naturalized in France, M. E. Miller, who concluded it to be a lost work of Origen, and it was published, in 1850, by the University of Oxford, under the title of Origen's *Philosophumena*, or "A Refutation of all Heresies." Various circumstances, however, combine to shew that this title is incorrect, notwithstanding the authority of the MS. It is, indeed, a continuation of a work partially printed among those of Origen, and called Philosophumena; but that work itself had been long pronounced not to be Origen's, on the ground that the author speaks of himself as a bishop, which Origen never was. On the other hand, a treatise "Against all Heresies" is quoted by Eusebius as the work of Hippolytus. But the decisive evidence is found in a passage of the Myriobiblion of Photius. Among the 280 works which this extraordinary man read, analyzed and extracted, while he was yet a layman and engaged in an embassy to Assyria, and of which he gave his brother Tarasius an account, a treatise of Hippolytus is mentioned (c. 121) on thirty-two heresies, beginning with the Dositheans and going down to Noetus and the Noetians. It was composed, according to Photius, from the lectures of Irenæus, whose pupil Hippolytus had been. Now this number of thirty-two just corresponds with the number of the heresies reckoned up in the work attributed to Origen, and not with those mentioned by Irenæus himself, or Epiphanius, or any other ancient *malleus hæreticorum*. This would certainly be a very remarkable coincidence, if purely accidental. The contents of the work correspond with the account given by Photius; the basis is Irenæus, whom the writer sometimes corrects, sometimes condenses, sometimes expands, and generally improves. One great improvement which he has introduced is, that his account of the heresies is preceded by a review of the ancient systems of physical philosophy, which he employs to shew that what the heretics allege to be Christian is really borrowed from the Greeks, and therefore falsely imputed to Christianity. Some difficulties, indeed, present themselves when we compare the work before us with the accounts which Photius and others give of the treatise of Hippolytus. Photius calls it a little book (*βιβλιδάριον*), and yet it makes a goodly volume of 300 pages. To this M. Bunsen replies, that the work consists of two parts, the Philosophumena and the Heresies, and that if we separate them, the Heresies alone occupy only 250. Photius says that the work of Hippolytus began with the Dositheans, whereas the recently printed MS. begins with the Naasseni or Ophites, not mentioning the Dositheans at all. The name, however, appears not to have been used very strictly by ecclesiastical writers, and to have represented generally the Judaizing schools of heretics, though Dositheus was not really a Christian at all, but lived before the age of Christ. M. Bunsen's ingenuity is most severely taxed in the endeavour to reconcile

the identity of Hippolytus and the author of the work before us, with an alleged quotation which is nowhere to be found in it. Peter of Alexandria, in controversy with the Quartodecimans, who maintained that Easter should always be kept on the 14th day of the first moon after the equinox, quotes Hippolytus as saying in his treatise against Heresies, "I see there is a contentiousness in this affair. For the Quartodeciman says thus, 'Christ celebrated the Passover on that very day and suffered; I therefore must do also as the Lord did.' But he is wrong from not knowing that when Christ suffered he did not eat the Passover according to the Law. For he was the Passover which had been foretold, and which was accomplished on the day appointed." Now the author of the work which is claimed for Hippolytus does allude to the Quartodeciman controversy, but condemns it on a different ground. M. Bunsen maintains, however, that the text shews itself to be defective, and that the connection of the author's reasoning proves that he must have used two arguments —one that which Peter quotes, the other that which we actually have. We fear that this part of his reasoning will not carry much conviction; yet in spite of this serious difficulty, which might disappear had we a greater number of MSS., we cannot resist the conclusion that the treatise against Heresies belongs to Hippolytus and not to Origen. Its contents testify negatively that it cannot be Origen's, because it contains a confession of faith differing in some important points from the known opinions of the Alexandrian Father. They afford a strong presumption that it is a work of Hippolytus, because it manifests such an intimate knowledge of the affairs of the Roman Church, and even the secret history of its ecclesiastical dissensions and intrigues, as Hippolytus would naturally possess; but could with no probability be attributed to a secluded Alexandrian scholar, like Origen, who only passed a short time as a visitor at Rome.

This argument assumes that we know Hippolytus to have been a Roman bishop, a thing left in the greatest uncertainty by the writers to whom we referred at the beginning of this article. He is called by a long succession of writers, from Peter of Alexandria, before quoted, down to Nicephorus in the 14th century, Bishop of Portus, near Rome, or a Roman bishop. The "Portus near Rome" is opposite to Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber; but there was a *Portus Romanus* in the south of Arabia, now Aden, and the indefinite language of Eusebius and Jerome had led to the supposition that this was the see of Hippolytus, an opinion which can no longer be maintained since the clear exposition which Bunsen has given of the evidence for his being a Roman bishop. Such a phrase may sound strange to one who has been accustomed to consider the Pope as the autocrat of the Church; but in the beginning of the third century he held a much humbler place in the ecclesiastical system. In those days

the suburban bishops were joined with the Roman parish priests, or *cardinales*, as members of the governing clerical body of Rome; and Hippolytus, though bishop in his own see, or more properly *parish*, of Portus (for there were then no parishes as distinct from episcopal sees), was a presbyter in relation to this body, and hence frequently receives the title of presbyter. The circumstance that a statue, identified, though without his name, by a list of his works and a Paschal Cycle engraved upon it, was found, in 1551, in an ancient Roman cemetery on the road to Tivoli, speaks strongly also in favour of his bishopric having been near Rome and not in the extreme point of southern Arabia.

Of the events of his life we know little with certainty. His name, and the fluency with which he writes Greek,* lead to the supposition that he was born in some part of the Roman empire where Greek was commonly spoken; his intimacy with Origen and his familiarity with Alexandrian speculation, both in philosophy and religion, that he had resided, if he were not born, in Egypt. He seems to have come to Rome during the episcopate of Zephyrinus, and was a bitter enemy of Callistus, his successor, of whom he tells us a great deal more than we previously knew, and more than zealous Romanists will thank him for disclosing. During the episcopate of Victor, a benevolent Christian named Carpophorus, having a clever slave called Callistus, made him manager of a bank which he kept at Rome, in which many brethren and widows deposited their money. Having robbed the bank, so that when the depositors demanded their own it was not forthcoming, Callistus went down to Ostia and got on shipboard, but was overtaken by his master and put into the *pistrinum*. This ancient Fauntleroy fared better than his modern representative.

> Committunt eadem diverso crimina fato:
> Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema.—Juv. xiii. 104.

He was subsequently transported to Sardinia, but being released through the kind offices of Marcia, the concubine of Commodus, he gained the good graces of the bishop of Rome, Zephyrinus, who, according to Hippolytus, was not only stupid and ignorant, but avaricious, and took bribes. During his lifetime Callistus had done as he liked with him, and at his death became bishop of Rome, a worthy link in that chain of episcopal succession, of which we must all lay hold if we hope for salvation. His conduct in the sacred chair was conformable to his preceding life. According to Hippolytus, he claimed to himself the right

* Τὴν φράσιν σαφὴς ἐστι καὶ ὑπόσεμνος καὶ ἀπέριττος, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀττικὸν οὐκ ἐπιστρέφεται λόγον, is the discriminating criticism of Photius. In this age of Greek loquacity, the epithet of ἀπέριττος is no small praise. Ἐπιστρέφεσθαι seems to us to mean, "laboriously strain after," not "come up to," as Bunsen renders it.

to forgive the sins of all, and maintained that a bishop must not be deposed, even if he commit a sin unto death. The consequence was relaxation of discipline, both among clergy and laity, leading to very scandalous abuses. We might have taken this account of his evil deeds without deduction on the word of Hippolytus, had not a deadly theological feud existed between him and Callistus. The church was distracted by the interminable question about the divine and human natures in Christ, the deity of the Son and Spirit, and the unity of the Godhead. Callistus, before he became bishop of Rome, had not, indeed, distinctly favoured the heresy of Sabellius, but had trimmed between him and Noetus; when he had been made bishop he threw off Sabellius as not orthodox, yet would not adopt what Hippolytus considered as the true doctrine, of course his own, setting up a modification of Noetianism. For this Hippolytus calls him "a foolish, shifting fellow, who, inventing blasphemies above and below, in order to speak against the truth, sometimes is not ashamed to fall into the doctrine of Sabellius, sometimes into that of Theodotus." This outbreak of *odium theologicum* may induce us to receive with some grains of allowance all the judgments of Hippolytus concerning Callistus.

Under what circumstances, or in what year, Hippolytus underwent martyrdom, is uncertain. He was transported to Sardinia, in Maximin's persecution, to perish there, if so it might be, by the malaria fever, in 235 A.D., and is said there to have been beaten to death with clubs. According to Prudentius, however, who has devoted a hymn to his memory, he was martyred at Ostia, by being fastened to wild horses, who tore him limb from limb. This tragic fate was represented in the age of the poet (Prudentius Passio Hippolyti Martyris, l. 85) on the walls of his sanctuary. The judge

> — supinata residens cervice, "Quis inquit
> Dicitur"? Affirmant dicier Hippolytum.
> "Ergo sit Hippolytus, quatiat turbetque jugales
> Intereatque feris dilaceratus equis."

Yet it is thought that the only ground for this tradition, though vouched both by poetry and painting, is the fate of his namesake, the son of Theseus, dashed to pieces by his own frantic steeds. Prudentius charges him with the heresy of Novatus,—an imputation hardly reconcilable with chronology, but which may be explained by his opposition to Callistus, whose fame for orthodoxy increased after his death. Bunsen thinks Hippolytus was martyred, if not in 236 A.D., not later than 238.

Besides vindicating the claim of Hippolytus to the authorship of the newly-discovered work, Bunsen examines the authenticity of the other writings which have been attributed to him, and pronounces them, with few exceptions, his genuine work. They form together a most valuable body of evidence respecting the

faith and practice, the ritual and legislation, of the Church at the beginning of the third century of its existence. Every point of criticism is discussed with great learning and acuteness; and the future editor of Hippolytus, by the aid of these disquisitions, will be able to perform his work much more satisfactorily than Fabricius did at the beginning of the last century. We can only present our readers with results.

1. The CANON of Scripture. M. Bunsen is dissatisfied with the narrow sense given to the word *canonical* by Lardner, as if he rested too exclusively upon the authority of Eusebius and Jerome, in confining it to books either written by apostles, or, as in the case of the Gospels of Mark and Luke, under apostolic superintendence and from apostolic information. And he speaks disparagingly of this eminently learned and good man, as if he were only the best of a very middling class of critics. Undoubtedly, when compared with the Niebuhrian school, he must appear coldly cautious, and very deficient in the intuitive sense, which with this school often supplies the place of positive evidence, and which helps a critic to a most assured decision, where others can only say, "I doubt." We must not, however, forget, that the decisions of this sense, which in its very nature is subjective, are liable to be reversed, and that the cautious collector of facts is at least a safe model. The school of Strauss is the natural, almost the necessary, degeneration of the school of Niebuhr. The canon of Hippolytus included all those books which we now receive, except the Second Epistle of Peter, which is excluded by the mention of "the Epistle" in the singular number. The Epistle to the Hebrews he expressly excepts from the writings of Paul, but attributes the Apocalypse, as a very early work, to the apostle John. His quotations from the New Testament will furnish valuable matter to future critical editors, but do not affect the question respecting the date of the three first Gospels, since no one doubts that they were extant under their present titles in the age of Hippolytus. But his history of the heresies throws an important light on the question raised by the school of Tübingen respecting the Gospel of John, whose origin they had referred to so late a period as 165 or 170 A.D. It contains quotations from this Gospel by Basilides, who flourished in the reign of Hadrian, about 117 A.D. And as it is universally admitted that St. John was the latest of the evangelists, we may hence judge of the soundness of the opinion that the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, did not exist till the second century.

2. In regard to the PERSON OF CHRIST, Hippolytus was neither a Humanitarian nor a Trinitarian. His theology on this point has been evolved from the Proem of St. John's Gospel. When once, in this course of evolution, the Logos, from being the Word or Reason or Wisdom of God, had been in the tech-

nical phrase *hypostatized*,—that is, conceived of as a substance, not an attribute,—there was really no place of stable equilibrium for dogma, fluctuating between the fear of lessening the divinity of the Son, and encroaching on the unity of the Divine Nature, but in the Athanasian Creed, which boldly compacts together Tritheism and Unitarianism, trusting to the iron band of an anathema for keeping the repulsive elements united. In the days of Hippolytus, things had not proceeded so far. We could not easily make intelligible, to readers not versed in the terminology of patristic metaphysics, the precise shade by which he differed from his predecessors or his followers; but he is a heretic, even according to the Nicene Creed, and would fare still worse according to the Athanasian, since he ascribed no personality to the Holy Spirit. He is one of those, therefore, whom that charitable formula, so dear to the hearts of bigots, condemns to perish everlastingly. And though the excellent author of this work has made no formal confession of his own faith, it is clear that he is no sounder than Hippolytus on the article of the Trinity.

3. In regard to CHRISTIAN ORDINANCES, the works of Hippolytus fully prove that the baptism of infants has no sanction in apostolic practice, as it must be admitted to have none in Scripture. "Pædobaptism," says M. Bunsen, "in the modern sense, meaning thereby baptism of new-born infants, with the vicarious promises of parents or other sponsors, was utterly unknown to the early church, not only down to the end of the second, but indeed to the middle of the third century." The church adhered rigidly to the principle, that no one can become a member of it but by his own free act and solemn vow, preceded by a confession of faith, made in the presence of the church. The keeping of the concomitant pledge, to live no longer for self and for the world, but for God and Christ, was the condition of continued communion; its infringement entailed repentance or excommunication. Nor was the church satisfied, as now, with general promises to forsake the devil and his works; it judged for itself what were the works of the devil, and required not a verbal, but a practical renunciation of them. The master of slaves was inadmissible into the Christian communion, unless he gave those of both sexes an opportunity of entering into married life. The convert was also obliged to abandon all idolatrous superstitions and impure trades. When we read the history of Christian doctrine during the first centuries of the church, we cannot but lament the enormous waste of ingenuity which it involved, and are tempted to think that it might just as well have taken place in a Heathen school of philosophy, as a Christian school of theology: but when we see the noble stand which the church made on behalf of personal virtue and the rights of humanity, we must acknowledge that she shewed herself worthy of her heavenly origin. On the subject of the Lord's Supper our author has

bestowed unusual pains, from the belief that the false ideas which the Roman Church has introduced, constitute the most pernicious of all its corruptions. According to our Saviour's own words, he says, it was a commemoration of his propitiatory death, with which, considering it as a permanent rite in the church, is united the idea that by the inner working of the mind of the Christian, the power of this propitiatory death manifests itself individually, by the influence of the Spirit, in the faithful. By the combination of these two things, the acknowledgment of the historical and the declaration of the individual fact, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the celebrant becomes a portion of the spiritual body of Christ, is most intimately united with him and through him with God and all good spirits. The sacrifice of which the Fathers speak, in connection with the Lord's Supper, is the self-sacrifice of the communicant, the offering up of himself in charity and love to the will of God and for the good of our brethren. But the ideas of a church, a priesthood and a sacrifice, were perverted from their proper spiritual sense, to an outward and heathenish one. Priests came to be considered as the ministers of the church, not co-members of it with the laity, and therefore sacrifice as their special function. The right and duty of spiritual priesthood belonging to every Christian was superseded by the acts and privileges of the officiating ministers of the church; and the *communion*, the very essence of the original rite, became a mere accessory to the *consecration*, which is only the formal act of the priest. This is the real fundamental corruption of the Roman Church, compared with which her dogma of Transubstantiation is a matter of mere secondary importance. Such are Bunsen's views; and a very large portion of his work is occupied with the analysis and comparison of ancient liturgies, for the purpose of establishing these statements, and shewing the gradual progress of innovation. We shall make only one remark on his whole argument. The corruption, which he justly considers as one of the greatest with which the Roman Church is chargeable, has its root in the unwarranted introduction of the idea of sacrifice in connection with the Lord's Supper. The death of Christ is spoken of in scripture as a sacrifice —a propitiatory sacrifice, if that notion be rightly defined—but nowhere is the communicant's act spoken of as a sacrifice, or the rite itself as a sacrifice. Had the Fathers kept to the simple language of the Gospels and St. Paul, which describes the Lord's Supper as a commemoration, the mischief would have been avoided. But they had a hankering after something which would supply to the heathen convert the place of the sacrifice, which to him was the all-in-all of religious rites; from the prophecy of Malachi (i. 11, iii. 3) they inferred that sacrifice and offering were to be perpetual in the church. What was at first rhetoric, according to Selden's remark on Transubstantiation, was turned

into logic, the figure was converted into a reality, and the Sacrifice of the Mass became a chief source of the usurped power of the hierarchy.

4. "The ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY of Hippolytus may be termed Presbyterianism, as asserting the right which the presbyters, as a body, claimed against the bishops in matters of general interest, at least as far as a full veto." Up to a certain point the presbyters had co-operated in the extension of the episcopal power; they had aided in the exclusion of the laity from the legislation and administration of the church; with regard to the election of bishops the primitive right of the laity had dwindled into a form, or had become at most a tumultuous veto. The general substitution of Episcopal for Presbyterian government which took place towards the end of the second century, is acknowledged to have been essential to the welfare of the church, which, in the times of persecution, needed unity of administration; but while it preserved the church as a body, it introduced decay and degeneracy into its system. The clerical elements entirely overpowered the other, for the laity had no religious organization, either synodical or congregational. "The bishops drew the great prizes in the lottery, and the bishop of Rome the greatest." In the age of Hippolytus, however, things had not proceeded so far, though the absolutism of the bishop had begun to develop itself. The real government of the church was in his hands, while legislation was in form vested in a collegiate body. Hippolytus was obliged to protest against one monstrous assumption of Callistus, that a bishop, even if he committed a sin unto death, could not be deposed by the presbytery; a doctrine which shews a considerable advance towards the notion of an inherent and indelible sanctity in the orders of the church. Yet this, though it could not be taken away, might be voluntarily laid aside, and if he wished to marry he might quit his office. The obligation of celibacy was nearly in the same state in which it remains in the Greek Church; but already the apostolic measure of liberty had been narrowed, one who was unmarried at the time of his entrance into the clerical office being precluded from marrying as long as he retained it.

5. It is a curious question whether the Christian church had before the Council of Nice any CODE OF LAWS. That there could be no authoritative code in the days of its humiliation and persecution is clear; but had it any written code, submitted to voluntarily by the members of the church from a belief in its apostolical origin? Critics have entertained the most various notions respecting the authenticity and age of the so-called Apostolic Constitutions. Whiston believed them to have been dictated by Christ to his disciples in the forty days after his resurrection. Bishop Pearson refers them to the apostles and their disciples. Bishop Beveridge ascribes their origin to Clemens Alexandrinus,

whom he supposes to have been mistaken for his namesake of Rome. Usher and Tillemont suppose them to have been written in the sixth century. It is the opinion of Bunsen, corroborated by the evidence which the works of Hippolytus afford, that from very early times there existed written collections of the customs and ordinances of the church; that the form in which they now exist in Greek is late, full of interpolations and grounded on a fiction, the dictation of the apostles to Clement; but that there is in them a genuine nucleus, which may in many cases be detached from the subsequent incrustations by the aid of the Coptic, Abyssinian and Syrian texts. Among the works which Athanasius in his Festal Letters mentions as profitable to be read, though not canonical, is the so-called "Doctrine of the Apostles," probably the same work, for otherwise a book so highly esteemed must have been entirely lost to subsequent times. They thus become a valuable document of the church of the ante-Nicene period, and confirm the view which has been already taken of the wide difference between its constitution and doctrine in that age and subsequently to the holding of that Council. It must be evident, however, that the application of such a work to any controversial purpose must be very difficult. The first six books, Bunsen acknowledges, are full of phrases found in the second interpolation of the Ignatian Epistles. Those interpolations have been made, in his opinion, to uphold episcopal authority; but if he makes the amount of authority allotted to the bishop his criterion of genuineness and an ante-Nicene origin, he has no common ground of argument with those who do not share his views respecting the late origin of episcopal supremacy.

We have now exhibited to our readers the bearing of this learned work on the most interesting questions in early church history. From the nature of its composition, being made up of Letters, Fragments, Texts and Illustrations, it has been no easy task to bring together under heads the principal conclusions of the author. A more perfect fusion of the materials is greatly to be desired. We acknowledge that it is merely as helping to settle historical questions that we feel interested in them, not being inclined to admit that if we could recover a picture, ever so exact, of the Christian church in the age of Alexander Severus, we should be bound to adopt either its creed or its discipline, without the further inquiry whether the one was scriptural and the other judicious. We do not think so meanly of the exegetical knowledge of the present day as not to believe that we are better interpreters of scripture than Irenæus or Hippolytus. And as to everything in the institutions and discipline of the church which is post-apostolic, it was a development suited to the exigencies and conceptions of that age, but of no authority in the present, except what its intrinsic merit gives. We would not abandon any usage which has the prescription of centuries in its favour,

without the strongest necessity; we would in all cases build reform upon the ancient basis. But we acknowledge no legislative authority in the early church. Its martyrs and confessors are a noble army, and our obligations to them for testifying to gospel truth and preserving it to us, are unspeakable; but in all that is not supported by the authority of scripture, we feel that our right to develop and construct is paramount to theirs.

We must defer to another No. our notice of the remaining part of M. Bunsen's work, in which he animadverts on the present state of theological opinion in England, Germany and Protestant Europe generally.

K.

SUNDAY BLESSINGS TO BODY AND SOUL.*

THE "religious world" has a most unspiritual confidence in enforced Sabbath-keeping, and that of the gloomiest and most uninviting kind. "The *bitter* observance of the Sabbath" would prove no joke, if the Society for its promotion might have their way in our Legislature. A Sabbath-day's journey, measured by the strictest rule of Jewish tradition, though it brought the resident in old Jerusalem to the sweet Mount of Olives, would not carry the denizens of our large towns into fresh air. The stoppage of the post, the prohibition of bakers' ovens from cooking the poor man's Sunday dinner, or even the denial of the right to kindle a fire in his own habitation on that sacred day, would be as nothing, even in this climate of ours, compared with his perpetual imprisonment in the courts and alleys of London or Manchester. Yet the Sabbatarian would restrict his locomotion to the distance between his home in the alley and the church in the nearest street, thrice duly trodden there and back; and while taking for granted that church-going is the all-sufficient rest and re-invigoration of the tired spirit, would disregard the correlative claims of his bodily limbs and senses for sweet air and healthful sights and sounds.

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* A Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, &c. &c., on the proposed Opening of the Crystal Palace on the Lord's Day. Seeleys.

The Divided Sabbath: Remarks, &c. Seeleys.

"Remember the Sabbath Day:" a Sermon, &c., by Rev. J. E. Kempe, St. Barnabas, Kensington. Rivingtons.

The Sabbath made for Man: Sermon by Rev. Edward Rhys Jones. Seeleys.

Removal of the Crystal Palace (4th Thousand). Houlston.

Plea for a Whole Sabbath, &c. Wertheim and Macintosh.

The Crystal Palace, the Government and the Sabbath.

Society for the due Observance of the Lord's Day, &c.

Per contra:

The People's Palace and the Religious World. By a Layman. A. Hall, Virtue and Co.

The Agitation against, &c. Reprinted from the "Nonconformist."

The "Sunday agitations" which periodically convulse the self-styled "religious world," are always impracticable in their demands and therefore unsuccessful in their results; and yet, with a pertinacity as unintelligent as we are willing to believe it conscientious, the very next occasion witnesses the same round of passion, the same assertion of ultra principles that are found to be quite untenable as soon as divested of their ambiguous phraseology, and the same gross partiality in leaving room for the Sunday enjoyments of the rich, while unmercifully abridging those of the poor.

It is not long since the Sabbatarians undertook the remodelling of the Post-office. It may be worth while to recal to mind the progress of that agitation. The Government had announced the intention of forwarding *through* letters from London on Sundays as a matter of public importance, among other arrangements which were calculated *on the whole* materially to diminish the amount of Sunday work in the post-offices throughout the country. The Sabbath conservators with one consent assumed, and every where insisted, that this was the beginning of a scheme, "the thin end of the wedge," for opening the Post-office in London on Sundays, and for abolishing all distinction of days in that department of the public service. Curious illustration of that religious candour or charity which "thinketh no evil"! But this recklessness of assumption and imputation of motives and ulterior designs, peculiarly characterizes the Sabbatarian advocates. They seem to believe in a universal hatred against that precious day, which they themselves do not love more than the rest of us, but only with a different kind of love. They seem to think themselves privileged to "speak wickedly for God."* On that occasion they were so active, while the rest of the community was so afraid of the imputation of irreligion, that the Government (weakly, perhaps, but with the purpose of giving a salutary lesson to the cowardly public who liked to have their letters and papers, but dared not say so) allowed the Sabbatarian plan to be tried experimentally for a few weeks, till that same public found fault with the religious time-serving of the Government, and regretted its own. So the Sunday delivery was restored, the *through* post

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* Two clerical false-witness-bearers have just done lowly penance in the *Times*, on the suggestion of a lawyer's letter to each, for having severally declared at public meetings that they knew on good authority that the *Times* was paid large sums of money for advocating the Sunday use of the Crystal Palace. One of these, the Rev. H. V. Elliott, made the assertion at Brighton on the 16th of November; and the other, the Rev. W. Curling, of Tulse Hill, repeated it at a meeting at Streatham on the 20th. The former apologized in the most abject terms by saying that he did not mean to allege anything of the kind, though he did not attempt to deny the words reported; and the latter, by acknowledging that his only authority was the report of Mr. Elliott's speech. A sadder exhibition of lax morality, both in getting into the scrape and in avoiding legal punishment for libel, we hope we shall not often witness, especially on the part of clergymen. But, alas! Religion and Morals are thought to be separate things by many authorized expounders of the former.

established, and the London Post-office not opened, as it never had been intended to open it. Yet one of our tract writers in the last new agitation has the simplicity (or the duplicity) to refer to that past *triumph*, for present encouragement! "The question of opening the London Post-office on the Lord's-day called forth (he says) much feeling. If we had not triumphed then, most serious evils would quickly have been introduced. First the servants, then the clerks, and by and by the partners, would have been at the counting-house on the Lord's-day." The triumph was purely imaginary; the defeat signal and ignominious.

Sunday agitation has revived within the last few months, with all its intensity and undiscriminatingness, in connection with the re-erection of the Crystal Palace now going on at Sydenham. It has rained a deluge of pamphlets, a few of which we have noted at the foot of the page, including two (the only two we have seen) written in calm remonstrance against the fanaticism of the rest. After detailing the real facts of the case, so far as we know them, we shall endeavour to look rationally into the Sunday question.

The Crystal Palace has become the property of a joint-stock Company, who propose to make it, and the grounds belonging to it, one of the most attractive and improving places of resort accessible to the vast population of London, the Brighton railway being the means of access. The Company naturally desired to obtain a Charter of incorporation, which would have the effect of limiting the responsibility of each shareholder to his share in the concern, but would leave them subject to the common or statute law as regards the observance of Sunday, just as if they had no Charter.

The Committee of the "Society for promoting the due Observance of the Lord's-day," deputed their clerical and honorary Secretaries to wait upon the Archbishop of Canterbury and other dignitaries in Church and State, who formed themselves into a deputation to Lord Derby, requesting that no Charter might be granted unless containing a clause to prevent "the Palace or its grounds being opened to the public on the Lord's-day." All other agencies were at once put to work, and Lord Derby was overwhelmed with memorials in the same tone.

The Company, in order to conciliate this strong feeling, now expressed their intention—unadvisedly, as it appears, and as those who know "the religious public" would have anticipated—to open the place in the afternoon only, and not even then to open the more strictly secular departments; and it was generally reported and understood that the Charter was to be granted, coupled with this condition. Hereupon, the agitation was renewed more fiercely than ever; it *hailed* pamphlets now, instead of drizzling as before. "A divided Sabbath"—"a parti-coloured Sabbath"—"half prayer, half amusement"—"not Sabbath-morn-

ing, but Sabbath-day"—were henceforth the emphatic hailstones. Texts were laboured and words no longer split, to shew that a day means a day! And the religious world viewed the argument as conclusive,—never asking itself whether, independently of the Crystal Palace Company, London people do divide the day or not, at present, between health and devotion.

Meanwhile, it was found, we believe, to be doubtful whether, by virtue of an old statute (which we cannot quote), the Crystal Palace Company could, even if incorporated, with the *afternoon* clause inserted, open their grounds on Sunday at all. And the result, we believe, is, that their Charter will simply give them a limited responsibility and power to sue and be sued as a corporation; while the opening of their grounds on Sunday will, to all appearance, be prevented by the existing law, or perhaps be legalized by some widening of the law without reference to their particular case, if the wisdom of Parliament should see fit to revise the law.

Such is, we believe, the existing posture of affairs as regards the Crystal Palace and its Charter. We take the opportunity of inviting our readers to look thoughtfully at the Sunday question itself.

We are no Judaizers, and yet we gratefully bless Judaism for our day of rest. We bless the superstition, if it were such, of the early Christian church, which urged the first Christian emperors to enact a cessation from toil on Sunday, because the Jews had rested on Saturday and Jesus Christ had risen from the dead on Sunday morning. The day of rest is an invaluable blessing to all the toiling multitudes of Christendom. If Christians have argued absurdly for the *authority* of the Christian Sabbath from that of the Jewish, not less certain is the historical fact, that for our possession of one day in seven as, generally speaking, exempt from severe toil, we are ultimately indebted to the Law of Moses. Man's secular wit and wisdom would never have given it to us. The economist would have thought it wasteful to throw away one whole day in seven; though, taking the actual fact as he finds it, he perceives that the six days' labour with the recurring rest, are more efficient than the whole seven would be if spent in the weariness of monotonous toil, while the week's wages for six days are precisely what competition would have made them for seven.

We believe it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of a recurring day of rest, whether in a bodily or a spiritual point of view. That it was ordained by Judaism, seems a sufficient proof of more than human wisdom presiding in that remarkable institution. The Christian world did well, therefore, to copy it, whether through a feeling of duty or a mere sense of its blessedness. What would life be to our toiling millions without their Sunday? What to those in easier circumstances, but engaged in severer toil of head and heart, with business anxieties and

cares which the mere hand-worker does not know? The Jewish use of it as REST, if it were no more, is a luxury and cordial to the working-day world. Our toiling workmen should love and cherish their charter of rest. And it seems somewhat wilful and wayward on the part of those who seek authority from Judaism for their Sabbatical strictness, not to adopt the simple Jewish idea of rest and refreshment to wearied human nature, which was always the leading character of the Jewish Sabbath. The very word *Sabbath* means rest, cessation; no more, no less. If etymologically connected also (as some say) with the Hebrew numeral *(sebo)* seven, it is the seventh-day rest, but still rest; and no further idea is brought out as to the day's use or occupation. How the Jews spent their Sabbaths before the return from the Captivity, we have little means of knowing. Those who lived in or near Jerusalem—that is, the adult males—probably thronged the temple-court at morning and evening sacrifice, and delighted in the psalmody of the choirs of Levites instituted by David. But what was the Jewish Sabbath in the country? how observed by Jews remote from the temple? is a question which we seek in vain to answer precisely. Synagogue worship cannot be traced higher than the time of the return from Babylon. In our Lord's time, there was a synagogue in every little town and village throughout Judea, and the apostles found one in every principal town in heathen countries where Jews had settled. Synagogue worship was essentially similar to that of the Christian church, which, indeed, historically resulted from it. It contained the offices of public prayer without sacrifice, the reading of the Scriptures, and often exhortation. The women also attended (in a separate part of the building) as well as the men. But before synagogue worship was known, we ask the ascetic Sabbatarian to imagine how the pious Jew spent his Sabbath; and after its introduction, we have no idea that the Jewish Sabbath lost its character of a day of cheerful rest and refreshment, except among the Pharisaic sort of people. It was a festival, a day of gladness and exultation, not of gloom and sorrow. The Jews among us at the present day, who keep it sacredly, do not keep it ascetically. So that the Judaizing argument will not bear out the conclusion attempted. The Pharisaic observance was repudiated by Christ in his emphatic words, "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath."

The law of the Sabbath is one of the Ten Commandments of Mount Sinai. Without adopting the Sabbatarian argument, we yet confess we have been always struck with this fact, that among nine other precepts which are of universal applicability as implying the great moral and religious duties of life, there stands this precept, to Remember the Sabbath-day. This classification marks the high estimate set upon the observance by Moses, or by the Higher thought that moved him so to classify it. There

is no place in the Decalogue for the Law of Sacrifice, for the Passover, the Pentecost, the Feast of Tabernacles or the Annual Atonement. All these were Jewish specialties; but the Sabbath is ranked side by side with everlasting duties to God and man, as if separable and distinguishable from all the ceremonial parts of Judaism, and worthy to survive and spread beyond the limits of its observance. To this estimate every lover of his species must assent. The Sabbatarians falsely charge their opponents with the desire to rob the poor man of his Sabbath. We believe the secular world would be quite as strenuous in opposing any such robbery as the "evangelical." Indeed there is no party to attempt such a wrong. We only regret that the merits of the Sabbath should be disguised by overstating or false argument. Let it rest on its own blessedness as fulfilling a human want, which does not grow less urgent, but the contrary, with the progress of civilization, competition and great cities. Let us admire the clear perception of the Jewish Lawgiver which ranked it in the Decalogue, and thank the Christian church for copying the Jewish, and bless Providence for one day in seven thus rescued from ordinary toil. And then we may ask, with some chance of finding a practical answer to the questions, how our day of rest should be employed, and what degree of action or interference on the part of the English law is desirable. Accepting its historical origin, we do not defend or define it, as our Sabbatarians do, by inapplicable texts from the Jewish Scriptures against equally inapplicable ones in Paul's Epistles, having original reference to something very like the Sabbatarianism that is amongst us at this day. Nor have we to examine, with some laborious scripturists, the question between the Jewish Sabbath and the Lord's-day. One day in seven for rest as far as possible from worldly toil, whether that day be called Friday, Saturday or Sunday, seventh day, sixth day or first, and whether it be counted from sunset on Thursday or Friday to sunset on Friday or Saturday, or from midnight of Saturday to midnight of Sunday, and whether time be reckoned by the meridian of Greenwich or that of Jerusalem or Mecca (a question unaccountably overlooked by the rigid Sabbatarian),—the one day in seven is the essence of the original Jewish idea, and of Jewish, Christian and Mahometan practice. Those who have too nicely discussed the question of first day and seventh, and set their hearts and imaginations upon a contemporaneous Sabbath-keeping all over the world, seem to have forgotten that any Sabbath must be successive round the world, as it turns upon its axis to greet the sun. The poetry of Science devoutly cuts this theological knot at once:

> "Still, as the light of morning broke
> O'er island, continent or deep,
> Thy far-spread family awoke,
> Sabbath all round the world to keep.

> From east to west the sun surveyed,
> From north to south, adoring throngs;
> And still, where evening stretched his shade,
> The stars came forth to hear their songs."—MONTGOMERY.

We venture, then, upon the broad question, What is the duty of a Christian Legislature in reference to the day of rest? What can Law do? What may it do? What ought it to do?

An intire cessation of all work on Sunday by all classes is plainly impossible. For the police to rest would be to set all the thieves to work. While the honest people and their protectors were all at church and meeting-house, their homes would be ransacked by the *chevaliers d'industrie*, to the infinite satisfaction of the latter. Then there are certain trades which can hardly be suppressed on Sundays. The cows must be milked (no doubt they were in Judea of old); and the milkman supplies his customers, without much scruple on their part. The public bakehouse sets multitudes of families free from the work of cooking (and enables many to fare better also), by employing one or two persons on the Sunday morning. Hard upon the baker, we may say;—true; but we must hope that several take it in turn, and that each gets every other Sunday morning at least to himself, and all the afternoons. In large towns and cities it is practically impossible to exempt the drivers of cabs and omnibuses from work on Sundays. People who have not carriages of their own use these vehicles even to take them to their places of worship, as well as elsewhere. The post-office service it has been lately proved impracticable to suspend on Sundays, though it is put on a different footing on that day from all other days. All these things are matters of prudential detail, to be settled according to the demands of public necessity or convenience,—and, we will add too, of public conscience; but the general conscience is made up of individual and very various convictions and feelings, and there is evidently no hard and absolute rule of appeal by which to decide. That proposed by the Sabbatarians so confidently, turns out, as soon as examined, to be neither practicable, nor self-consistent, nor authoritative. One of these writers "assumes that the divine authority and moral obligation of the Sabbath principle are admitted." But what is that principle? Abstinence from all work whatever? This is impossible. Is the favourite exception made for works of "necessity and charity"? The individual is left to judge between the necessity of riding in the omnibus to church, and the charity of perilling the driver's soul; and the so-called *principle* has thus quickly evaporated before the stern demands of the practicable.

In considering what is the duty of the Legislature on this subject, we must not forget that he has to provide, as far as possible, for the free action of minds impelled by very opposite

views of Sabbath observance. Without some human law on the subject, there would be no simultaneous recognition of a day of rest. The Christian church would have to keep its Lord's-day as it did in the first three centuries, in spite of the claims of the busy secular heathenism around it, with no help from any general cessation of toil. We are indebted, therefore, to the general spirit of the law for the recognition of Sunday as our own. And we can see no other line of demarcation for settling the proper province of Sunday legislation than this,—that the legislator should endeavour to make that day, as far as possible, *every man's own day*. In this spirit the law of contracts, wages, bills of exchange, &c., is framed. Sunday is *no day* in commerce; and thereby is reserved as a special day for oneself and one's family, for rest and refreshment, and for social worship. To this negative action the law should, we think, strictly confine itself. Up to this point, of enabling each person to claim his Sabbath for himself (unless where urgent public necessity requires otherwise), the secular and the religious feeling would alike approve; and even the ultra *voluntary* idea, which remonstrates against all interference of the State in matters of religion, seems easily to have reconciled itself to this degree of Sabbath legislation, at the very least. The only parties aggrieved are the Jews (and Mahometans, if we have any in England), who think it necessary to keep a separate day, to their own great inconvenience. But the legislator can only deal with the matter practically. He can only fix upon one day, and that the customary day of the immense majority. We think the Jew might be quite satisfied to take his Sabbath on the same day when the society in which he lives take theirs; but he thinks differently, and acts accordingly, at some little sacrifice of his worldly interests. Should the legislator proceed beyond this negative point, of securing us against the claims of enforced labour on Sunday, he will find himself immediately required to do inconsistent things in order to gratify the opposite views of different parties; or in working out the *conscientious* views of one party, he will be abridging the conscientious freedom of others. He is on safe ground only in securing the Sabbath, as far as possible, as *a free day for all;* he is wrong the moment he begins to define how it shall be spent by any. But the very means of securing its free use for society in general, imply the necessity of certain services from public functionaries, and the permission to exercise certain trades and occupations by which the work of one procures the rest or enjoyment of others. And as there is no absolute rule of right and wrong applicable to these matters, the legislator can only endeavour to meet, as far as practicable, the demands of general religious feeling on the one hand, without, on the other hand, needlessly abridging the power of free action.

Now we think the existing state of the law in this country,

though not framed on the recognition of any clear principle, but exhibiting (like many other parts of the English law) the mixed results of the piecemeal and often inconsistent legislation of successive centuries, does pretty nearly answer these requirements in practice. We have, generally speaking, the power of spending the Sabbath as we like. For securing this end on behalf of society in general, the police must still watch and guard. For this end, certain trading, especially in provisions, is legalized; while those public purveyors whose trade is under Government license and surveillance at all times, are bound by certain special rules on Sunday, by which a fair compromise is at least attempted between the demands of public convenience and those of the religious feeling, including the desire to secure religious leisure to the hotel-keeper or eating-house proprietor himself. In some cases the law, and in others public opinion, keeps a place of refreshment or amusement closed till one o'clock, and allows it to be open afterwards. The chartered theatres are precluded by the terms of their charters from being open on Sundays at all; while tea-gardens in the outskirts and taverns in the streets are allowed. Thus the Sabbath is already "divided," by those who choose so to divide it, between morning worship and afternoon recreation; while, however, those who choose to do otherwise, may spend it, if they will and can, wholly in devotion, or may "divide" it more rationally and virtuously. The question with us just now is not, how the Sabbath is best spent, or how best divided,—we may touch that question by and by,—but what action the State should take, or abstain from, on the subject. It does not follow, if we think, or if the Queen thinks, or if the Archbishop of Canterbury thinks, the Sabbath ought to be spent so and so, that Parliament would be therefore justified in ordaining that the Sabbath should be so spent. This plain distinction the advocates of minute Sabbath legislation quite overlook; and in doing so, they shew that they do not appreciate the true nature of Religion itself. To be religiously spent, the spending of the Sabbath must be spontaneous and heartfelt. He who abuses his Sunday rest and liberty to purposes of vice and profligacy, would not be made religious by the re-enactment of the Puritan Sabbath. The State can do nothing for him beyond giving him opportunities. It is his own affair to use or neglect them. And any attempt to violate man's free-agency is almost sure to produce the very opposite result to that desired, namely, a hatred towards the institutions and professors of religion, and a conviction that they are the enemies of popular rights. For the feeling which now so strongly pervades the minds of the "lower orders" to this effect, the Sabbath agitators are mainly answerable. The working man feels that the Sunday is his own, and that it is his only day of liberty; and he looks with a natural and very excusable jealousy upon every effort made to abridge his freedom in the

use of it. And how do the agitators against the use of the Crystal Palace on Sundays attempt to clear themselves of this kind of imputation? By bidding the advocates of fresh air for the millions build model cottages in London, or give the working classes an additional half-holiday! As if the former specific would meet the case, or the latter were in the power of the persons so taunted! The following are fair samples of the pamphleteering style used on this occasion:

"We know that when objections are made to railway trains and amusements on the Lord's-day, we are told we have no sympathy with the labouring classes, and wish to debar them from wholesome recreation. On the contrary, we rejoice in any step that can be taken to promote their health and comfort. We are thankful to see improved lodging-houses, and baths; and we hail with delight the Early-closing movement for the needful refreshment of the million. But when we hear of excursion-trains and museums opened on the Lord's-day, we turn round and ask those gentlemen—'If you have so generous, so philanthropic, so disinterested, a desire for the comfort and well-being of the million—then let it be shewn by one great, grand combination to release the million one half-day in the week, without diminution of the six days' pay.' There is no proof that we care for the health and recreation of the million, if we manifest that anxiety only, or chiefly, where the profit of a Company is concerned. In the present instance, the chief proprietors of the Crystal Palace are (as common report says) also chief proprietors of the line of railway which would convey visitors to the Crystal Palace. Thus they would be double gainers."

This is from "The Removal of the Crystal Palace, 4th Thousand, price One Penny." The next is from the more stately-looking "Letter to Lord Derby," whom the writer designates "a bolder man" than the Duke of Wellington, who brought in Catholic Emancipation as a *political* measure, and the Beer Bill as a *fiscal* measure,—inasmuch as his Lordship has "determined to bring in a *moral* measure, a Charter to sanction Sabbath-breaking—a Charter to neutralize the law of God and many unrepealed laws of the land." Then he wrestles thus with the *Times:*

"The *Times* says, 'Surely there are none so inhuman, so stupid as to maintain that the working Londoner ought to spend his Sunday in his own dark and dismal hole, breathing the reeking atmosphere of close courts and yards. The home of the average of Londoners, we are sorry to say, is no home at all; it is a grave, not a home; for to be shut up in it is to sicken and die.' Will the Editor tell your Lordship who the employers are that are content that working Londoners should live in a grave? and who mock him with a Crystal Palace once a week, for the entrance to which he is to pay? My Lord, will you inquire of this Crystal Palace Company? Ask them, 'Do you pity the poor? Have you a real regard for their health and refreshment?' Then build model houses—drain—supply water—make parks, where the poor and their children *can* recreate *every* evening. Lower the rents of their dwellings

—increase the number of sleeping chambers, and diminish the temptation to which the young of both sexes are exposed. Loosen the chain from the galled necks of the million on some part of Saturday, without diminution of pay. Manifest an affectionate interest in the physical, moral and spiritual well-being of all under your charge. Thus will you prove yourselves philanthropical indeed. No, my Lord, no; the Crystal Palace on the Sunday is not the remedy for the foul air of six days. *It is a mockery of the million.*"

The same writer says, a little further on—

"But, my Lord, the disinterested Crystal Palace Company will inform your Lordship that Sunday is the only day for the million. Now, in truth, a great portion of the lower classes cannot go on any day. Those artizans who will go on the Lord's-day, *can* and *do* take other days. The complaints of masters, that they cannot get their men to work on the Monday, and often on the Tuesday, prove this. The excursion-trains and the penny steam-boats place this beyond all contradiction."

This passage is remarkable as standing in direct opposition to the intire argument of all the pamphlet writers, himself included, who assume that the opening of the Crystal Palace on Sundays would lead "the *million*" to break the Sabbath. Another, the Rev. John Weir (Presbyterian Church, River Terrace), boldly insists that fresh air is unnecessary if people will go twice to church.

"But it may be further said, 'that the working classes should not be debarred from bodily rest and relaxation on the Lord's-day.' We cheerfully grant it; but we deny that the opponents of the opening of the Crystal Palace on the Sabbath seek to deprive the working man of his Sabbath's bodily rest from toil. How great the difference between the two classes of working men—those who 'rest according to the commandment,' who repair in clean and decent garb to the house of God morning and evening, and spend the intervals of public worship in reading and meditation, or in the instruction of the young! We ask you by personal examination to contrast the refreshment both of mind and body with which this class return to their work on Monday morning, with the jaded spirits, the shattered nerves of the frequenters of steam-boats, the occupants of excursion-trains, the patrons of the tea-garden and the public-house, who go back to labour unrefreshed and unblessed, and too often the victims of surfeiting, drunkenness and riotous excess. And are we to be told that such an argument is invalid in the present case, because no spirituous liquors are to be sold within the park or the palace on the Lord's-day; when (as present preparations *without* the walls clearly indicate) we know that the gin-palace and the public-house will thrive and prosper on the traffic of multitudes who will enter them *first* and visit them *last*, and without whose unhallowed stimulants the sculpture, the flowers and the fountains, would lose half their charms?"

As usual on all such occasions, the agitators confidently denounce the Divine judgments against the nation in case their remonstrance should be unheeded. The following are extracts

from a fly-leaf which takes upon itself to protest in the name of "the Christians of England," being signed "Robert Newstead," somewhat after the manner of the tailors of Tooley Street, who wrote—"We, the People of England." How emphatic the type, too!

"II. BECAUSE all NATIONAL blessings and prosperity are bound up with the *observance* of the Christian Sabbath; *because* GOD has been pleased to make the sanctification of the Sabbath the TEST of a NATION'S HOMAGE to Himself; and *because* all *national*, as well as *domestic* and *personal* demoralization, corruption and decay, *begin* with SABBATH-BREAKING. Witness FRANCE, and the Continent in general (Jer. xvii. 27)."

"VI. BECAUSE of the manifest Divine blessing which attended the original use of the Crystal Palace, when, both in its erection and appropriation, the holy Sabbath was honoured and respected; and *because* it would become, if ROYAL sanction were given to its proposed *desecration*, a NATIONAL sin, drawing down upon our country *national visitation* (Isaiah lvii. 13, 14)."

How thoroughly profane is this handling of Divine judgments! And how stupid the identification of royal sanction with national sin! Were the royal sins of the reign before last national sins? The working men of England will see no "reasons against opening the Crystal Palace" in assertions so full of unsound morality and false politics.

It is a pleasure to turn to something more human and more really religious, from the pen of "a Layman," who with admirable judgment and temper discusses the subject of "The People's Palace and the Religious World." His sympathies are with the people, but not against devotion. He fitly takes as his text—"The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." He says,

"It becomes Christian men to look this matter fairly in the face, and not be deluded by cant and prejudice. Let them manfully examine facts and probabilities, before they commit themselves to unreasoning clamour. Neither the cause of religion nor of truth will gain by allowing common sense to be overborne by invective and exaggeration. The Sabbatarians themselves will admit that the people who are likely to crown the heights of Norwood are *not* those who would otherwise frequent a place of worship, but, for the most part, overworked artizans and labourers, with their families, who systematically spend the Sabbath at the tea-garden or ale-house—who, if they were not at Sydenham, would perhaps be at Gravesend—who, if they could not enjoy the beauties of Sydenham and restore their wasted energies amidst its health-inspiring breezes, would probably kill the time by the indulgence of depraved appetites in a poisoned atmosphere. The recreations of Sydenham are as elevating, refining and harmless, as at any other place of Sunday resort—probably more so. At the same time, they are more attractive. Is it, then, so very irrational to suppose that, under the circumstances of the case, the change will be a gain? Surely it is not Quixotic, though opposed to the Sabbatarian view, to conclude that the facilities offered to the working classes by means of steam for recruiting

their strength and improving their tastes by country excursions, and, in particular, the superior attractions and judicious regulations of the new Crystal Palace Company, are, on the whole, calculated to promote the health, temperance and morality of the people.

"It is not assuming too much to conclude that the 'attractions' and 'regulations' of Sydenham will be superior to those which obtain elsewhere. A visit to the tea-gardens of Chelsea or Camberwell on a Sunday afternoon or evening, accessible to all who purchase a ticket of 'refreshment,' will satisfy any unprejudiced person on this head. The scenes he will there witness can scarcely fail to convince him that the cause of morality will gain from the transference of a portion of the crowds there assembled to the Norwood grounds and their stricter surveillance. Other things being equal, ought not the religious world to *prefer* that the working classes of London should enjoy the fresh air of the tea-garden to the drunkenness of the gin-palace,—the temperance associated with the sylvan landscape of Sydenham to the license of Cremorne?

"No doubt there is another side to the picture. The event so much deprecated will unquestionably tend to induce many people to 'break the Sabbath' who would not otherwise do so. This will especially be the case with the young, who will, to some extent, desert our Sunday-schools, as well as places of worship. But the anticipation of harm from this cause may be exaggerated. The attractions held out by the Crystal Palace *do* exist elsewhere, with others of a more baneful character, and you cannot suppress them but by a general act of legislation. If the number of pleasure-takers is increased, the influence for evil is diminished. The argument, too, is essentially vicious; for if its 'superior attractions' is a reason for closing the Crystal Palace on Sunday, fine weather is to be deprecated on the same ground, and rain and fogs courted as the allies of church and school!

"But the Crystal Palace Charter is menaced because it will rob the poor of their day of rest! If the poor were *obliged* to visit Sydenham on Sunday, there would be some force in the plea. But it is notoriously otherwise. Are not the hundreds and thousands who every Sunday crowd the outward-bound railway-carriage, steamboat and omnibus, following their own inclination as much as the aristocracy who take their afternoon airing in Hyde Park, or the thousands who frequent their places of worship? What right, then, have the latter to dictate to the former how they shall spend the day of rest, or, unbidden, to constitute themselves the champions of the 'poor man's day'? May not the journals who hold such language be fairly called upon to produce their authority? If the working classes object to the opening of the Crystal Palace, or to railway and steamboat travelling, on Sunday, they will refrain from using them; but so long as it is otherwise, nay, the reverse, religious men only injure the Christianity they profess, and assume the garb of hypocrites and intolerants, by pretending that the poor are thereby wronged, and calling upon the Crown to interfere for their protection."

We must also quote from the able protest of the Editor of the *Nonconformist* against the prevailing spirit of the very body with whom he worships and symbolizes, and among whom he finds many of his readers:

"This is a day in which symptoms alarm the churches much more than the disease they indicate. We act as men would do, who, because savages destroy books of devotion, would have them restrained from doing so, and then glory in the gain therefrom accruing to religion. The act of destroying a good book is regarded with more concern than the ignorance of heart out of which the propensity springs. A religious book is not religious to him who can neither understand nor read it,—a holy day is not holy to him who does not rejoice in it. Christianity comes to change men's dispositions, not to prescribe their acts. It gives law to the heart, not to the conduct. In its view, acts are nothing *religiously* considered, but in their representative worth,—conduct is of no importance, but as it expresses character. 'Sabbath desecration,' as the phrase is, was much more prevalent in apostolic times than in ours; but not one of the apostles mentions it as an evil to be bemoaned. Their attention was riveted upon the *spiritual darkness* to which such a state of things was natural, and their aim was to rectify men's tastes by commending to them higher objects.

"The true evil, then, indicated by the general non-observance of the Lord's-day, is not in the things done on that day, but in the want of religious sensibility and cultivation thereby demonstrated. That so many of our fellow-countrymen are devoid of spiritual taste—that they know not the highest pleasures of which their being is capable—that they feel no want of religious instruction, no delight in religious worship—that they have no conscience in reference to these engagements—that they do not and cannot sympathize with the object of Christian institutions,—*this* is the core of the mischief. And this will not be touched by meddling with the world's pleasures. You may worry, you may irritate, you may, perchance, madden, but you will not change the spirit of men by your numberless prohibitions.

"Suppose the present agitation successful, and what will be its consequences? We shall have just the same dislike of our religious institutions as we have now, aggravated by a sense of injustice. The working classes will ask, what right the religious world has to prevent their spending the Lord's-day as best pleases them, so that they do not encroach upon the rights of others? And we ask it on their behalf. What right has the Christian church to impose its institutions upon the unwilling? Of these, the Lord's-day is one. Who authorizes us to make it a Lord's-day to those who are indifferent to its claims? Baptism is another. Why should we not be equally justified in soliciting the Crown to grant no commercial privileges to the unbaptized? That the opening of the Crystal Palace on the Sunday will present greater attractions to pleasure-taking than now exist, we are not disposed to conceal from ourselves; but if the religion of our day cannot withstand this test, it behoves us to see to its improvement. If our young people are in danger, we must infuse into them better principles. If our drowsy worshipers are allured to sensuous gratification, we must aim to put more life into them. More heart, more activity, more persuasiveness, more Christianity, and that of a better sort, is the true remedy. The Queen's interference will, after all, but serve to cover over the evil, not to remove it. There is a stronger than she to run to in this emergency—a more effectual preventive than the power of law. One-half of the money, and one-tenth of the zeal, wasted on these periodical and

fruitless agitations, if expended wisely in *winning* the sympathies of the unenlightened to religion, instead of *restraining* their pleasures, would soon place religious institutions on a more commanding footing. Whilst the method now in vogue remains so, we despair of large success. That which a crystal palace can overturn, or which a royal word can establish, cannot be worth much, spiritually estimated. Two years ago Protestantism was in danger from Cardinal Wiseman's honours. Now it is in danger from a winter garden. What next? Is our Christianity so sickly, so feverish, so puny, that it must be curtained in from every blast, and shrouded from every beam of sunshine, lest its nerves should be shattered or its complexion injured? And if so, would it not be better to look rather to the recovery of our own Christian health, than to ask for such arrangements regarding it as encroach upon the rights of the world? Let us beware lest we mistake the danger, and increase it by our unwise provisions for meeting it.

"We should not have written thus largely and earnestly on this topic, but for our deep conviction that, just in proportion as the attention of religious society is given to mere external decencies, its inner life and vigour will ebb away. The tottering walls of our institutions cannot be shored up for long by coercive or restrictive arrangements. The way to prevent sin is to destroy it in the affections. The way to make temptations powerless is to strengthen sound principles in men's hearts. And there is no other way. All labour in other directions is lost. The world will never be *made* to do right, until the world is made right in its sympathies. Hedge it about—restrict its movements—hinder it in the pursuit of its desires—scold it—anathematize it—make law for it, and it will be none the better for your pains—rather the worse. Christianity must woo and win it to goodness in the spirit of her Divine Founder—and this she will only be able to do as she is self-reliant and gentle—sure of her own power and willing to use it benignly. Love is the secret of her success, and love cannot work by means of law. The churches will blunder on until they have found out this. It is affirmed in theory now—it is denied in practice."

We have left ourselves little space for examining the question, how the Sabbath ought to be spent. The State having guaranteed to us the possession of one day in seven, exempt, as far as is practicable, from the necessity of labour, it is every one's own affair to decide how his Sabbath shall be spent, and what views and habits he will infuse into his children in regard to it. This seems necessarily to follow from our principle of regarding religion as a strictly personal thing. And it must follow, too, that no one has a right to find fault with another's conscientious use of the day of rest, so long as it does not interfere with his own equal freedom. It may follow also, that different modifications in the use of the day may be right for people variously situated and having various gifts and needs. But, in our clear opinion, the distinctive character of the Sabbath should be RELIGIOUS in all cases. Not appealing now to the secular power of the State, but to the individual conscience, we urge that the true use of this cessation of worldly toil should be to supply what man wants

besides the week's occupations and gifts, and to correct whatever influences the week may have in excess or of questionable character. The primary idea of the Sabbath is Rest. Rest from what? From customary toil. And why rest from customary toil? In order to enjoy what man needs besides toil, and what, when gained, may bless and direct and control him in his toil itself. Making the largest possible concessions to the bodily claim for rest, and to the equally imperative claim for mental rest on the part of those whose toil is more continuous and more wearing and injurious even than the hard and long labour of the handicraftsman,—we yet see in this rest from the mental and bodily toil by which men earn "the bread that perisheth," a provision for their higher wants in the opportunity given for cultivating their higher faculties. Man does not live by bread alone. His higher life should assert itself on the day of rest with especial force; and in proportion as that higher life is quickened in each person, it *does* live and breathe and find its delighted being on Sundays. The intelligent mechanic reads on Sunday more perhaps than on any other day; be it the newspaper, the book of science, or the Bible, or all these in part,—he reads on Sunday more than on other days. A man of higher education and not merely manual occupation during the week, finds a more quiet and continuous access to the books of genius, which are his intellectual food; and he should not overlook the productions of sacred genius acting upon inspired materials of thought. Then the truly domestic man finds Sunday a blessed day for his family. No day so happy as that for him and his. Hand-worker or head-worker, employer or employed, he is comparatively little at home from Monday to Saturday. Business, business—work, work—is the all-engrossing thing. In our large towns and cities (the case of which we have practically to deal with more and more, as population concentrates itself continually around them) long distances are added to long business-hours. The operative takes his breakfast and dinner with him to his work; the master or the merchant breakfasts before his family are down stairs, and dines (if he can dine at home at all) when his young children are going to bed and the older ones drinking tea. A few evening hours are all that the week-day leaves in such a man's power to give to his family at home; and these are not left undisputed by the claims of public business or public institutions, if he resist those of places of public amusement, or make his family partakers with him in his occasional visits thither. To all such men, Sunday is a blessed domestic day. It is the chief reliance we have for the maintenance or restoration of that piety at home (in the human acceptation of piety) which some think is on the wane among us. The secular life is become, there can be no doubt, less domestic with us than it was with our ancestors two generations back. The altered modes of business, the substitution of steam machinery in

factories for hand-machines at home, the eager activity of competition (for long years made intensely grinding by restrictive laws), and the agglomeration of our massive towns, with the accompaniment of new and wonderful facilities for moving to and fro in them and their neighbourhood,—are all causes or symptoms of the fact alleged. Never was there such reason, then, we say, for blessing the Sunday for its *family* gifts. And families *do* use it as their privileged day of union. Once in the week they are at home together. They breakfast together, and (if they are wise enough not to make the breakfast late in proportion) there is no need to hurry (as on other days to the counting-house or warehouse) in order to be in ample time at church or meeting-house. They dine together—dine early, soon after morning service, if they are wise; and the party is increased by boys or girls home from the week boarding-school, or youths from houses of business, who have joined them at the house of prayer. What happiness to parents! what joy to children! what a safeguard for young men may the home Sabbath be! What shall they do the rest of the day? Settle first the question of attending public worship again. This they must settle for themselves—we cannot for them. We hope many such families, if distance be not too formidable, will appear again in the house of God,—in the evening, more likely than the afternoon. They are more likely to find and make the service vigorous. An afternoon service is apt to be a sleepy affair. We decidedly object to it. If the minister dines (or abstains) that day in such a way as to be specially vigorous after dinner, it is quite too much to expect that those who have not to preach will do the same. Better walk out in the afternoon,—in the nearest park if they can get no further; fresh air is invigorating, and they may find more of it than some of them have had since the last Sunday. Go, perhaps, to Sydenham one fine Sunday in the summer. Take wife and children with you. Not every Sunday to Sydenham; nor, indeed, every Sunday out so far in any direction. But why not to Sydenham on a Sunday afternoon, if you cannot go on a week-day? I who can take, I am thankful to say, more frequent holiday from pretty hard work in my counting-house, would rather go to the Crystal Palace on a week-day. It will be less crowded (as Richmond and Hampton Court are) than on a Sunday, when so many go who can't go any other time. But I ought not to feel any *conscientious objection* to your going on that day with the "working classes," because it is my better lot to be able to go with the gentles and aristocrats almost any day I please. I hope I have a truer conscience than that. And your Sunday train, too, may be a crowded, noisy affair that I would rather avoid. Oh, there is the curse of these huge cities! I don't like a crowd, on Sundays especially; no more do you, I dare say; and so we both try to get out of it. I live at Ken-

sington, and can soon walk into fresh air. You live in the city, and try to reach it by railway from Shoreditch or London Bridge. And so you, running away from the crowd, find yourself still in a crowd of people doing the same. But the train presently sets you down at Waltham, or Sydenham, or somewhere else, and then you walk away into the quiet, which I found at walking distance from my own suburban dwelling. You will be back most days from your afternoon outing (though perhaps not this Sydenham day) in time to go to church again, if you think proper, after an early cup of tea. But if your children are too young, yet old enough for the domestic lesson of reading or conversation, or if your wife is unequal to the second journey to church, it is not for me to find fault with you or any man who makes his home on Sunday evening a true church, with simplest instruction and briefest prayer, perhaps hymn of joyful music, and with family love and goodness the evening through. Let the Sabbath thus witness, above all things, the religion of Home; and its recreations will hardly be excessive, nor the public worship of God (which we hold at the highest value) be neglected. And let those of us whose week-days are not so full of toil as to make it our duty to lay in, as it were, a week's stock of rest and recreation on the Sunday, seek out means of usefulness to fill up our vacant hours on the day that was made for man. "A divided Sabbath!" Yes; let us divide it well, and we shall find time for all its claims: for home, with its loves and duties—for healthy recreation—for mental quiet and reflection, so conducive to mental health—for converse with Nature, so little accessible to our daily communion amid houses and smoke—for public worship and Christian benevolence—and, in all and through all, for the religion of thankful and dutiful hearts!

If the religious influences of Sunday are to prevail upon mankind in general—if any more general observance of it is to gain ground—it must be by our making it, above all things, a visibly cheerful and happy day. Legislative constraint can only further irritate those whose use of their Sunday rest is abuse rather. Its ascetic observance by those who would now invoke the law to enforce their observance upon others, is quite void of influence for good. Only a cheerful day can carry any religious influence to them. And to the young in our own families, how shall Sunday be effectually recommended as a religious day, except by being made the happiest of days to their domestic affections? To such views and feelings, we are persuaded, our countrymen are not inaccessible. It is by representing the Sabbath in the light of a privilege and a blessing alike to body and soul, that we must dissuade men from making it a curse to both.

E. H. H.

MEMOIRS OF TOM MOORE.*

It is a vain attempt to imitate the propriety of Lord John Russell's title-page. For forty years we have talked of Tom Moore, and so it must be to the end of the chapter. It is a household name, around which so much of admiration and love has gathered, that we should find it difficult to call him by any other name without a constraint and chilliness that would little suit the subject we have in hand. And yet the sight of this book does inspire us with some solemn thoughts. We have outlived all the men of genius, and nearly all the patriots, whom in boyhood and youth we honoured—Scott, Byron, Campbell, Southey, Coleridge, Crabbe, Wordsworth, Curran, Grattan, Grey and Holland. Of the remarkable group of men who lighted up the first half of the present century by their creative wit, Tom Moore, the gayest and brightest spirit of them all, was the last survivor. He differed in genius and character from them all, yet in his virtues he rivalled some of the best of them. His genius was as unquestionable as that of Byron and Coleridge, yet he was neither capricious nor moody. His personal character lacked the almost *Puritan* virtue of Southey and Wordsworth, but, like theirs, was radiant with the household affections. In society he had all the geniality of Scott, and at home was not less loveable. He possessed the patriotic fire of Campbell and the personal independence of Southey, with some portion of his and Scott's untiring industry. Like Scott, his character was assayed by pecuniary misfortunes, and proved to be without any base alloy. He lived more than any of them in the world of fashion, and, with rare success for a plebeian and an Irishman, took by storm the highest and best-guarded posts of English aristocratic rank. Of his foibles and his more serious faults we shall speak hereafter. In spite of them all, he was a good, and in some things great, man; and the materials of his biography now offered, tempt us to quit other subjects more or less prepared for this number, and to ask our readers to take with us a view (necessarily hurried) of that portion of his life which these volumes contain.

In fulfilment of a promise, the work before us is edited by Lord John Russell. The consent was asked and the promise given nearly five-and-twenty years ago. If either of them could have foreseen what demands the State was about to make on the time and energies of Lord John, it is probable that the Moore MSS. would have been entrusted to an Editor less engrossed by the cares of party and the responsibilities of office. Inasmuch as these Memoirs are the provision left by the Poet for

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* Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence, of Thomas Moore. Edited by the Rt. Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P. Vols. I. and II. London—Longman. 1853.

his widow, we are well pleased that they are ushered before the public with the *prestige* of Lord John Russell's name. We feel assured that he will exercise with scrupulous delicacy the trust assigned to him, in making selections from letters and journals rife with details and allusions affecting persons still living. We receive with thankfulness the just and beautifully written, but too short, essay on the life, character and genius of the Poet, which is given us in the Preface. It may perhaps be to some matter of admiration that Lord Russell has found time for what he has done. But we are bound, as honest critics, to express the opinion that the Memoirs required a much more laborious editing than they have received. Letters are here and there misplaced (this is admitted), the notes given are very few and brief, some of the most important events of the Poet's life (such as his marriage) are recorded with a bare date,—a reserve very tantalizing, and altogether unnecessary and unjustifiable, considering the unreserved admission given us to the interior of the Poet's life, in the letters and journals. There are in the course of these two volumes a hundred passages needing illustration from the Poet's works, from the Edinburgh Review, or from the newspapers of the day. These, any private secretary up to the literature and politics of the times could easily have supplied. The evil of their omission is, that we have not the whole subject before us; and the services of a second biographer or editor will be needed before we can place on the shelves of our library a fitting Life of Moore. Whatever right the public may have to complain on this score, reviewers may perhaps, in the present dearth of good books and topics, be disposed to pronounce a lenient censure on a fault so serviceable to themselves. The first nineteen years of the Poet's life are described by his own graceful and charming pen. Had the autobiography been completed, and all of it as admirable as the fragment before us, it would have taken rank as the very best work of its class.

Tom Moore was born May 28th, 1779, in Aungier Street, Dublin, of parents ranking somewhat below the middle class. John Moore, his father, kept a little wine store. He appears to have possessed good-nature and kind feelings, but to have had no energy of character. His mother, humble as her rank was, had a maternal forecast of her eldest child's greatness. Being a Roman Catholic, and therefore deprived of the means of legal registration of his birth, she had a record of the event inscribed on a crown-piece, the surface of which was made smooth for the purpose. His early schooling was not particularly favourable either to intellectual or moral progress, though it perhaps helped to develop his sense of the grotesque and the ridiculous. His first schoolmaster, Malone, he describes as a wild, odd fellow, rejoicing in a cocked hat, who passed his nights in public-houses, staggered into the school-room a little before noon, took his siesta

in the school-room, and when he woke flogged his favoured pupils all round for disturbing his slumbers. Anastasia Moore seems to have been an adept in finding her way to people's weaknesses; and she so effectually bribed or flattered all Tom's early instructors (and amongst them the drunken Malone), that Tom was not only the chief favourite of the school, but received every advantage of instruction which his masters could give him. He became, under the fostering influences of his mother's pride, very early a kind of *show* child, reciting at four years of age, with no little energy, popular political doggrels. But he must very soon have developed fancy and other intellectual qualities; for a certain discriminating Captain Mahony used laughingly to tell his mother, that he was sure the boy passed all his nights with the "little people" (meaning the fairies) on the hills; and at breakfast would often say, "Well, Tom, what news from your friends on the hills? It was a fine moonlight night, and I know you were among them."

To his mother's influence, Moore owed many of the peculiarities, and some of the weaknesses, of his character. Taught, as soon as he could articulate, to spout and act, and fed with the applause of his devoted mother and her admiring neighbours, it is not strange that he came to look on life very much as a stage, and that he contracted the player's vice, vanity and an insatiable lust of applause. The wonder is, that through so bad a schooling he retained so much steadiness of purpose and strength of principle. It was owing to a naturally honest and good heart, which the imperfectness of his education and parental injudiciousness could not corrupt. Another passion of this kind mother was "to secure for her children an early footing in the better walks of society." Her ambition was in this matter entirely free from the leaven of selfishness. There were no undue aspirings for herself. Whether the taste which she so successfully implanted into the mind of her son, and which he was enabled to gratify in every period of his life, ministered on the whole to his happiness and peace of mind, is a question which we shall better solve when we have advanced a little further in the story.

Moore's second schoolmaster was Samuel Whyte, who had forty years previously been the schoolmaster of Sheridan (on whom he pronounced the verdict of "a most incorrigible dunce"). Here, as at home, Tom's taste for recitation and acting was gratified and stimulated,—his master professing, amongst some better accomplishments, to prepare aspirants of both sexes for the stage. It was at Whyte's school that Moore commenced his public career as a poet.

"The commencement of my career in rhyming was so very early as to be almost beyond the reach of memory. But the first instance I can recal of any attempt of mine at regular versicles was on a subject which oddly enables me to give the date with tolerable accuracy; the theme

of my muse on this occasion having been a certain toy very fashionable about the year 1789 or 1790, called in French a 'bandalore,' and in English a 'quiz.' To such a ridiculous degree did the fancy for this toy pervade at that time all ranks and ages, that in the public gardens and in the streets numbers of persons, of both sexes, were playing it up and down as they walked along; or, as my own very young doggrel described it,—

> 'The ladies too, when in the streets, or walking in the GREEN,
> Went quizzing on, to show their shapes and graceful mien.'

"I have been enabled to mark more certainly the date of this toy's reign from a circumstance mentioned to me by Lord Plunket concerning the Duke of Wellington, who, at the time I am speaking of, was one of the aid-de-camps of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in the year 1790, according to Lord Plunket's account, must have been a member of the Irish House of Commons. 'I remember,' said Lord Plunket, 'being on a committee with him; and, it is remarkable enough, Lord Edward Fitzgerald was also one of the members of it. The Duke (then Captain Wellesley, or Wesley?) was, I recollect, playing with one of those toys called quizzes, the whole time of the sitting of the Committee.' This trait of the Duke coincides perfectly with all that I have ever heard about this great man's apparent frivolity at that period of his life. Luttrell, indeed, who is about two years older than the Duke, and who lived on terms of intimacy with all the Castle men of those days, has the courage to own, in the face of all the Duke's present glory, that often, in speculating on the future fortunes of the young men with whom he lived, he has said to himself, in looking at Wellesley's vacant face, 'Well, let who will get on in this world, *you* certainly will not.' So little promise did there appear at that time of even the most ordinary success in life, in the man who has since accumulated around his name such great and lasting glory."—I. 11, 12.

If Moore owed to his mother's fondness his vanity, he was indebted to her ambition and her watchful love for some better things.

"My youth was in every respect a most happy one. Though kept closely to my school studies by my mother, who examined me daily in all of them herself, she was in every thing else so full of indulgence, so affectionately devoted to me, that to gain her approbation I would have thought no labour or difficulty too hard. As an instance both of her anxiety about my studies and the willing temper with which I met it, I need only mention that, on more than one occasion, when having been kept out too late at some evening party to be able to examine me in my task for next day, she has come to my bedside on her return home, and waked me (sometimes as late as one or two o'clock in the morning), and I have cheerfully sat up in my bed and repeated over all my lessons to her."—I. 15.

An usher of Whyte is honourably mentioned by Moore as pouring into his youthful mind, not merely Latin and Greek, but also "a thorough and ardent passion for poor Ireland's liberties, and a deep and cordial hatred to those who were then lording over and trampling her down."

He had, before the close of his school-days, acquired, by hook and by crook, a larger amount of knowledge, and still more of literary taste, than ordinarily falls to even clever school-boys. He had contrived to inoculate with poetical and rhetorical tastes two clerks of his father, and the trio formed themselves into a literary society, Tom being the president. The meetings were held stealthily in a bed-room closet once or twice a-week after supper. From a friar of Dublin our young poet learnt Italian, as he did French from an emigré named La Fosse.

In 1794, he entered at Trinity College, Dublin, putting himself under a tutor of the name of Burrowes, whom Moore valued probably as much for his wit and humour as for his Latin and Greek. Moore began his University career with more vigour than he sustained it. After the first year, he turned aside from some of the prescribed studies to those which fell in with the bent of his own genius. The state of the University was not calculated to kindle or to feed his ambition. Roman Catholics had, by the Act of 1793, been admitted to the University, but the door of every scholarship, fellowship and other emolument was closely shut against them. This disgraceful exclusion still continues. Ambition for a moment made Moore's parents waver about entering him as a Protestant, that he might not be from the beginning disqualified in the literary race. But the sincerity of his mother, who was a settled Roman Catholic, prevented this. When we look at some of the indirect workings of a system of exclusive religious tests, we see their deformity. They are at direct war with truth and honour. They tempt to insincerity and falsehood at the very beginning of a career. Stripping the youth of self-respect and a pure conscience, they prepare the man for any profitable baseness and corruption. There were some things in Trinity College not calculated to inspire young men with high respect for their teachers. According to the statutes, married men were ineligible to fellowships. But this regulation was evaded by "the not very seemly expedient," as Moore styles it, of the fellows' wives retaining their maiden names, and thus living with them as if they were their mistresses. Magee's wife (he who became Archbishop, and was honoured by all orthodox Churchmen for his zeal in smiting Socinian heretics) was called Moulson. It is no palliation of this crime against truth and good morals that it has been long practised, and that even Jeremy Taylor, when Vice-Principal of the University of Dublin, sanctioned the evasion by appointing Dr. Stearne, a married man, to a vacant fellowship. It is a violation of statutes which the College authorities swear to respect; it is acting a lie for pecuniary gain. Religious and moral teaching will have little weight with the young, when such an example of wrong-doing is set by the teachers.

During the time of Moore's student-life in Dublin, the poli-

tical horizon became overcast with those terrific thunder-clouds which presently broke in the Rebellion. The walls of the University were not free from treasonable associations. By accident in part, but still more through the generous forbearance of his companion in studies (though his senior), Robert Emmet, Moore was not implicated. An inquisition was held, and Moore, together with many others who had fallen under suspicion, was questioned. His own words shall tell how he acquitted himself.

"At last, my awful turn came, and I stood in presence of the terrific tribunal. There sat the formidable Fitzgibbon, whose name I had never heard connected but with domineering insolence and cruelty; and by his side the memorable 'Paddy' Duigenan,—memorable, at least, to all who lived in those dark times for his eternal pamphlets sounding the tocsin of persecution against the Catholics.

"The oath was proffered to me. 'I have an objection, my lord,' said I in a clear firm voice, 'I have an objection to taking this oath.'—'What's your objection, sir?' he asked sternly. 'I have no fear, my lord, that anything I might say would criminate myself, but it might tend to affect others; and I must say that I despise that person's character who could be led under any circumstances to criminate his associates.' This was aimed at some of the revelations of the preceding day, and, as I learned afterwards, was so felt. 'How old are you, sir?' I told him my age,—between seventeen and eighteen, though looking, I dare say, not more than fourteen or fifteen. He then turned to his assessor, Duigenan, and exchanged a few words with him in an under voice. 'We cannot,' he resumed, again looking towards me, 'We cannot allow any person to remain in our University, who would refuse to take this oath.'—'I shall, then, my lord,' I replied, 'take the oath, still reserving to myself the power of refusing to answer any such questions as I have described.'—'We do not sit here to argue with you, sir,' he rejoined, sharply, upon which I took the oath, and seated myself in the witness's chair.

"The following were the questions and answers that then ensued; and I can pretty well pledge myself for their almost verbal accuracy, as well as for that of the conversation which preceded them. After having adverted to the proved existence of United Irish Societies in the University, he asked, 'Have you ever belonged to any of these societies?'—'No, my lord.' 'Have you ever known of any of the proceedings which took place in them?' 'No, my lord.' 'Did you ever hear of a proposal at any of their meetings for the purchase of arms and ammunition?' 'No, my lord.' 'Did you ever hear of a proposition made in one of these societies with respect to the expediency of assassination?' 'Oh no, my lord.' He then turned again to Duigenan, and after a few words with him, resumed: 'When such are the answers you are able to give, pray what was the cause of your great repugnance to taking the oath?' 'I have already told you, my lord, my chief reasons; in addition to which, it was the first oath I ever took, and it was, I think, a very natural hesitation.' I was told afterwards that a fellow of the college, named Stokes (a man of liberal politics, who had alleged, as one of the grounds of his dislike to this inquisition, the impropriety of putting oaths to such young men) turned round, on hearing this last

reply, to some one who sat next him, and said, 'That's the best answer that has been given yet.'

"I was now dismissed without any further questioning, and, though tolerably conscious in my own mind, that I had acted with becoming firmness and honesty, I yet could not feel quite assured on the subject, till I had returned among my young friends and companions in the body of the hall, and seen what sort of verdict their looks and manner would pass on my conduct. And here I had certainly every reason to feel satisfied; as all crowded around me with hearty congratulations, not so much, I could see, on my acquittal by my judges, as on the manner in which I had acquitted *myself*. Of my reception at home, after the fears entertained of so very different a result, I will not attempt any description; it was all that *such* a home alone could furnish."—I. 64—66.

In 1798, or 1799, Moore graduated B.A. and quitted the University. He had by this time made considerable progress in music and musical composition. Another task which had engaged much of his attention was a translation of the Odes of Anacreon. Already, the charms of his conversation and his social accomplishments had gained him some warm friends in the best circles of Dublin. Notwithstanding his free politics and comparatively low birth, he was noticed and petted by some Tory circles, and even by persons not without aristocratic pretension. In 1799, he proceeded to London, to enter himself a student at the Temple and prepare for the bar. He carried with him a variety of introductions from his Dublin friends. One of them, from his friend Mr. Atkinson, Secretary of the Ordnance Board, was to Lord Moira; and the intercourse that sprung up from it exercised no small influence on Moore's after history. The last passage in the autobiography describes his first visit to Donington Park, the Leicestershire seat of this nobleman:

"This was of course, at that time, a great event in my life; and among the most vivid of my early English recollections is that of my first night at Donington, when Lord Moira, with that high courtesy for which he was remarkable, lighted me, himself, to my bed-room; and there was this stately personage stalking on before me through the long lighted gallery, bearing in his hand my bed-candle, which he delivered to me at the door of my apartment. I thought it all exceedingly fine and grand, but at the same time most uncomfortable; and little I foresaw how much at home, and at my ease, I should one day find myself in that great house."—I. 75, 76.

Once fairly launched in London society, his social voyage was a series of successes. His wit, his sweet temper, and above all his exquisite songs, made him everywhere a welcome guest. To him, the generally exclusive recesses of the highest ranks of the nobility, and presently of royalty itself, were opened as by magic. The crabbed study of the law stood no chance against the attractions of poetry and music in the morning, and the gay haunts of

fashion at night. That his head was a little turned will surprise no one. But amidst all the tossings and turbulent dissipation of fashionable life, there was one pure and virtuous feeling to which his heart continued immoveably anchored—love of his mother. The Editor beautifully observes,

"Twice a week during his whole life, except during his absence in America and Bermuda, he wrote a letter to his mother. If he had nothing else to tell her, these letters conveyed the repeated assurance of his devotion and attachment. His expressions of tenderness, however simple and however reiterated, are, in my estimation, more valuable than the brightest jewels of his wit. They flow from a heart uncorrupted by fame, unspoilt by the world, and continue to retain to his old age the accents and obedient spirit of infancy."—P. xi.

Remarkably successful as Moore was in achieving a position in society which nine readers out of ten would regard as enviable as it was high, it may be questioned whether it added to his happiness. There were doubtless many hours when even his light and mercurial spirit must have sunk with depression as he contrasted the gilded drawing-rooms of which he was the delight, with his own anxious poverty. Here and there this feeling breaks out. When in London, he could not always check the reflection that the gay society which he frequented involved him in inconvenient expense, and left him no time for the industry that alone would support it. (I. 275.) At another time he sportively said, "if the flowers strewed before him had a little gold leaf on them, he should be the happiest dog alive." (I. 181.) More plaintively he added, "It is strange that people who value the silk so much, *should not feed the poor worm who wastes himself in spinning it out to them.*" Least happy was the reflection which sometimes shot across his heart when petted in the saloons of the great, that his gay flatterers were not reliable friends. "*Oh! the sweet happy days of friendship and boiled mutton, how unlike were you to the disguised hearts and dishes, the iced wines and looks, of my present dignified society!*" There is much philosophy in this sentence, which they should extract from it who are ambitious to rise above the middle ranks of society, to which they naturally belong, and in which they walk with ease, and where they find *friends* indeed.

Moore's wife was of simple tastes, and cared little for the titled society which to her husband had become a habit and a want. It interests one in her to find him, soon after he had settled in one of the three cottages in which their married life was spent, inquiring anxiously on her behalf for cottage neighbours with whom his Bessy could spend occasionally an unceremonious hour, and amongst whom she could find equal friends. Such associations do not make matter for an interesting journal, but they wear better than some of brighter gloss.

It must never, however, be forgotten that, notwithstanding

occasional embarrassments, Moore to the last preserved his independence and his honesty.

"Although the wolf of poverty often prowled round his door, he never abandoned his humble dwelling for the safety of the City, or the protection of the Palace. From the strokes of penury indeed, more than once, neither his unceasing exertion,

'—— nec Apollinis infula, texit.'

But never did he make his wife and family a pretext for political shabbiness; never did he imagine that to leave a disgraced name as an inheritance to his children was his duty as a father. *Neither did he, like many a richer man, with negligence amounting to crime, leave his tradesmen to suffer for his want of fortune.* Mingling careful economy with an intense love of all the enjoyments of society, he managed, with the assistance of his excellent wife, who carried on for him the detail of his household, to struggle through all the petty annoyances attendant on narrow means, to support his father, mother, and sister, besides his own family, and at his death he left no debt behind him."—Pp. xiii, xiv.

It was in 1800 that he appeared as an author, and published his translation of Anacreon, dedicated, by permission, to the Prince of Wales. It procured him considerable fame, and, what was more useful to him, the means of paying his debts. His acquaintance with the Earl of Moira ripened into friendship; and this nobleman's influence at Carlton House, then supposed to be boundless, opened to Moore the prospect of political preferment. It proved, in fact, the great trouble and bane of his life. Its first fruit was the offer of the Laureatship, an office which he had the good sense not to retain. It next procured for him a post under the Admiralty at Bermuda. Under the influence of very incorrect information and too sanguine expectations, he unfortunately accepted this post, and left England in the autumn of 1803 to assume his office. Sailing first to North America, he did not reach the "still-vex'd Bermoothes" (and so to him it proved in that short voyage) till the beginning of 1804. A very slight experience of his office and its profits, which fluctuated with prize-causes to be decided by the Court of Admiralty at Bermuda, proved it to be of little value. He bore his disappointment with admirable temper, and summed up the account of his voyages by saying—"he had seen a little more of the world, had got an insight into American character and affairs, had become more used to inconveniences and disappointments, had tried his resolution and nerves a little, and very considerably improved his health." A passage in one of the letters written to his mother during his absence from England, strikingly exemplifies the warmth and purity of his home feelings:

"Dear darlings at home! how incessantly I think of you: every night I dream that I am amongst you: sometimes I find you happy and smiling as I could wish: sometimes the picture is not so pleasant, and

I awake unhappy, but surely Heaven protects you for me, and we shall meet, and long be united and blessed together. In that hope I bear absence with a lighter heart, and I entreat of you, sweet mother! to look on it with the same cheerful confidence—the same consoling dependence on that God of all pure affection, who sees how we love each other, and has, I trust, much prosperity in store for us. I shall lose no opportunity whatever that occurs of writing to you, and saying how affairs go on."—I. 143.

His experience of America (inferior as the America of 1804 confessedly was to America of 1852) was infelicitous in the extreme. From Virginia to Niagara, he cried, all is barren—"barrenness in intellect, taste, and all in which *heart* is concerned." The scenery he found better than the people; and he said, "the Savages are the only well-bred gentlemen in America." The country, he considered, would cure any Englishman of republicanism. At Baltimore, his irritation and disgust were at their climax.

"I have passed the Potomac, the Rappahannock, the Occoquan, the Potapsio, and many other rivers, with names as barbarous as the inhabitants: every step I take not only *reconciles*, but *endears* to me, not only the excellencies but even the errors of Old England. Such a road as I have come! and in such a conveyance! The mail takes twelve passengers, which generally consist of squalling children, stinking negroes, and republicans smoking cigars! How often it has occurred to me that nothing can be more emblematic of the *government* of this country than its *stages*, filled with a motley mixture, all 'hail fellow well met,' driving through mud and filth, which *bespatters* them as they *raise* it, and risking an *upset* at every step. God comfort their capacities! as soon as I am away from them, both the stages and the government may have the same fate for what *I* care."—I. 161, 162.

All this would have better become a scented dandy of Mayfair than a man of genius.

Soon after his return to England, he published his Odes and Epistles. This work, and a volume published under the soubriquet of "Thomas Little," fell under the lash of Mr. Jeffrey, who with too much reason denounced the epicurean tone and positive immorality of these minor poems. It chanced some time after the appearance of the review, which stung him the more because it probably sharpened the stings of conscience, that both the poet and his critic were in London at the same time. Some table-talk of Jeffrey, heard and repeated by Rogers, satisfied Moore that the review was Jeffrey's own work. With the recklessness of an Irishman, he penned and sent an insulting cartel to the Editor, couched in terms which, according to the so-called law of honour, permitted only one answer—a challenge. Moore had to borrow weapons; and the friend who supplied them set the police on the trail of the combatants. The story goes on in Moore's narrative thus:

"As our assistants were not, any more than ourselves, very expert at warlike matters, they were rather slow in their proceedings; and as Jeffrey and I walked up and down together, we came once in sight of their operations: upon which I related to him, as rather *à propos* to the purpose, what Billy Egan, the Irish barrister, once said, when, as he was sauntering about in like manner while the pistols were loading, his antagonist, a fiery little fellow, called out to him angrily to keep his ground. 'Don't make yourself unaisy, my dear fellow,' said Egan; 'sure, isn't it bad enough to take the dose, without being by at the mixing up?'"—I. 204.

The arrival of the police officers, only just not too late, prevented the duel. On their way to and during their detention at Bow Street, these two *litterati* became mutually fascinated, and a lasting friendship ensued. From the same unpromising soil, viz., a hostile letter from Moore, a few years afterwards, sprung the friendship between the latter and Byron.

Happily, it is now scarcely necessary to raise the voice of warning and indignation against the detestable practice of duelling; but it is worth reflecting that if Moore or Jeffrey had fallen through this foolish and wicked challenge on the part of the former, literature and society would have sustained a deplorable loss.

With respect to Moore's early poems, we cannot forbear expressing our regret that Lord John Russell should have seen fit to qualify his censure of their licentiousness by such remarks as these:

"Horace is very licentious, yet his odes are the delight of our clerical instructors and solemn critics. Prior is not very decent, but his tales are praised on a monument in Westminster Abbey, and defended by our great moralist, Dr. Johnson."—P. xxvi.

However numerous the precedents for indelicacy, and however dignified some of its apologists, it deserves no quarter, and will, we believe, at the present time receive none from the mass of educated people.

When Lord Moira took office, in 1806, Moore's expectations of preferment were aroused into pleasurable activity. The sole result was the office of Barrack-master at Dublin, conferred on his father, of which, however, in his old age, he was deprived. Scanty as Moore's means were, he supplied to the last every want of his parents with generosity and cheerfulness. The letter with which he comforted them when deprived of the Barrack-mastership, is worth the best page of his poetry.

"*To his Mother.*

"Jan. 26, 1815.

"My dearest Mother,—My father's last letter would have made us very unhappy indeed, if we had not the pleasing thought that by that time you had received the intelligence of Lord Mulgrave's letter, and were lightened at least of *half* your sorrow; indeed, my darling mother,

I am quite ashamed of the little resolution you seem to have shown upon this occurrence; it was an event *I* have been expecting for years, and which I know *you yourselves* were hourly apprehensive of; therefore, instead of looking upon it as such an overwhelming thunderclap, you ought to thank Providence for having let you enjoy it so long, and for having deferred the loss till I was in a situation (which, thank God! I am now) to keep you comfortably without it. I venture to say 'comfortably,' because I *do* think (when the expense of that house, and the et-ceteras which always attend an establishment are deducted), you will manage to live as well upon your 200*l.* a-year, as you did then upon your 350*l.*, which I suppose was the utmost the place altogether was worth. Surely, my dear mother, the stroke was just as heavy to *us* as to *you*, for I trust we have no separate interests, but share clouds and sunshine equally together; yet you would have seen no gloom in *us*—nothing like it; we instantly made up our minds to the reduction and economy that would be necessary, and felt nothing but gratitude to Heaven for being able to do so well; and this, my sweet mother, is the temper of mind in which *you* should take it. If you knew the hundreds of poor clerks that have been laid low in the progress of this retrenchment that is going on, and who have no means in the world of supporting their families, you would bless our lot, instead of yielding to such sinful despondency about it. For my *father's* sake (who is by no means as stout himself as he ought to be) you ought to summon up your spirits, and make the best and the brightest of it.

"Let him draw upon Power at two months for whatever he may want for the barrack money, and when the rent comes due in March, we shall take care of it. Ever, my dearest mother, your own affectionate, Tom."—II. 62, 63.

On the 25th March, 1811, Moore was married at St. Martin's Church, London, to Miss Dyke, a lady very young and very beautiful—at least, if we may trust the lover-like and rapturous commendations of her husband, continued and repeated many years after marriage. We suppose the marriage was sudden and secret. Even to his beloved mother it was not communicated for several weeks. The Editor describes Moore's affection for his wife as "true, deep, touching, unchanging;" and adds,

"From 1811, the year of his marriage, to 1852, that of his death, this excellent and beautiful person received from him the homage of a lover, enhanced by all the gratitude, all the confidence, which the daily and hourly happiness he enjoyed were sure to inspire. Thus, whatever amusement he might find in society, whatever sights he might behold, whatever literary resources he might seek elsewhere, he always returned to his home with a fresh feeling of delight. The time he had been absent had always been a time of exertion and of exile; his return restored him to tranquillity and to peace. Keen as was his natural sense of enjoyment, he never balanced between pleasure and happiness. His letters and his journal bear abundant evidence of these natural and deep-seated affections."—P. xi.

His marriage brought out all the serious and better qualities

of his character. To borrow one of his figures, it threw the required ballast into the little pleasure-boat of his existence.

Early in 1812, Moore settled with his young wife at Kegworth, a village in Leicestershire, conveniently near to the seat of his patron, Lord Moira, whose hospitality in admitting the Poet to all the privileges of his library, as well as his table, was such as became a nobleman. Notwithstanding an advantageous arrangement which Moore had made with Power, of Dublin, for the publication of his "Melodies," he was not unfrequently pressed for money. Some amusing embarrassments sometimes ensued. While corresponding confidentially with Lord Moira, at a time when it was supposed that that nobleman was likely to become Premier, he is obliged to write to Power for a small loan, confessing to him that for a week or more he had been literally without a sixpence. At another time, he was compelled to protract to an inconvenient length a visit to the High Sheriff of his county, Leicester ("ridiculous distress, in being kept to turtle-eating and claret-drinking longer than he wished"), because he had not a shilling to give the servants on going away.

At Kegworth, Moore found a friend whom he valued through life in Dr. Parkinson, the rector, who became godfather to his second daughter, and of whom some interesting particulars are recorded in Vol. II. p. 339.

The Regency of the Prince of Wales once more elevated—to be for ever destroyed—the hopes of the Whig chiefs. The result proved the treachery and despicably selfish baseness of their idol. Lord Moira, indeed, obtained the Governor-Generalship, but his office was shorn of some of its accustomed patronage by the rapacity of official and even *royal* friends. He had nothing to offer to the poor Poet on whom he had showered for many years smiles, professions and promises. "I thank Heaven," said Moore, bitterly enough, "I am free to call a rascal a rascal, wherever I find him." He was right in calling Lord Moira's patronage of him "a sort of will-o'-the-wisp to him all his life." He had reason for regretting, as he sincerely did, that his expectations from this quarter had not been earlier extinguished. Recovering his habitual good temper, he said, "My intention now is to live in the country upon the earnings of my brains, and to be as happy as love, literature and liberty, can make me."

Cordially do we subscribe to Lord John Russell's doctrine, that "it is better for literature that eminent authors should not look to political patronage for their maintenance. It is desirable that they who are the heirs of fame should preserve an independence of position, and that the rewards of the Crown should not bind men of letters in servile adherence."—P. xiii.

Moore fulfilled his purpose of rustic retirement and of manly independence, advancing both the poetic and the prose literature

of his language, while he maintained his family in respectability, and cheered by his generosity the declining years of his parents. His first settlement after leaving Kegworth was a pretty cottage, surrounded by fields, near Ashbourn, in Derbyshire.

It was during his residence here that Moore made the acquaintance, which ripened into friendship, of the Strutt family. The late Joseph Strutt, the munificent founder of the Arboretum at Derby, was a man of sound sense, cultivated taste, simple but refined manners, and with as kind a heart as ever beat. His collection of pictures was one of the lions of the county, and his house was for many years the scene of a hospitality as liberal as it was refined. Moore and his wife were always happy under his roof. We shall gratify many readers of the *Christian Reformer* by extracting a passage which refers to a visit to Derby (1814).

"I suppose you have heard that we have been to Derby; and a very pleasant visit we had of it. I like the Strutts exceedingly; and it was not the least part of my gratification to find a very pretty natural girl of sixteen reading the sixth book of Virgil, and not at all spoiled by it. This is Joseph Strutt's eldest girl, a very nice dancer as well as a classic, and a poetess into the bargain. Indeed, they have quite a nest of young poets in that family; they meet every Sunday night, and each brings a poem upon some subject; and I never was much more surprised than in looking over their collection. I do not think I wrote half so well when I was their age. Then they have fine pianofortes, magnificent organs, splendid houses, most excellent white soup, and are, to crown all, right true Jacobins after my own heart; so that I passed my time very agreeably amongst them, and Bessy came away loaded with presents of rings, fans, and bronze candlesticks."—II. 31.

In other letters (II. 82, 105) he records, in familiar letters to his mother, various tokens of Mr. Strutt's kindness and generosity.

It was during one of Moore's early visits to Derby that he accompanied the family to the modest meeting-house in Friargate, with its ivy-mantled front, of which the late Rev. Edward Higginson was then the minister. The service was simple and solemn, the sermon impressively practical and devotional. Of the members of the small congregation there assembled, not one listened with more rapt attention than the gifted man who for the first time was present at an Unitarian service. During one portion of it he was agitated with emotion, and tears filled his eyes. This he afterwards explained to his friends, telling them that he had heard of Unitarians as a calm, reasoning sect of philosophers; that he had conceived of them as devoid of Christian sympathies as the disciples of Confucius; and that when he found himself joining in the prayers and listening with assenting conviction to every word of the preacher's discourse, his tears were irresistible, his emotion being heightened by the sense of

the injustice which his thoughts had done to a body of Christian worshipers.*

This may be a suitable place for speaking of Moore's religious views. What Lord John Russell says on the subject is,

"He was bred a Roman Catholic, and in his mature years he published a work of some learning in defence of the chief articles of the Roman Catholic faith. Yet he occasionally attended the Protestant Church; he had his children baptized into that Church; and when the Head of his own Church was restored to his throne (1815), he dreaded the consequences of that triumph to the liberty which he prized.

"Yet he always adhered to the Roman Catholic Church, and when in London attended the Roman Catholic chapel in Wardour Street. His answer to a person who tried to convert him to Protestantism was nearly in these terms: 'I was born and bred in the faith of my fathers, and in that faith I intend to die.' In that intention he persevered to the end. Of two things all who knew him must have been persuaded: the one, his strong feelings of devotion, his aspirations, his longing for life and immortality, and his submission to the will of God; the other, his love of his neighbour, his charity, his Samaritan kindness for the distressed, his good-will to all men. In the last days of his life he frequently repeated to his wife, 'Lean upon God, Bessy; lean upon God.' *That God is love was the summary of his belief;* that a man should love his neighbour as himself, seems to have been the rule of his life."—Pp. xxi, xxii.

Brought up, as Moore was, when the Roman Catholic Church in Great Britain and Ireland was suffering from persecution, and when, through policy, her dignitaries, in their intercourse with Protestants, at least assumed the language of boundless Christian charity, it is possible that he never realized to himself the intensely and essentially bigoted character of the Church of Rome, and that at first he felt bound by a feeling of honour not to desert a persecuted Church, and afterwards, when Catholic Emancipation came, habits of thought of nearly half a century's growth could not be changed. We may safely believe that had Moore seen English, *Irish* and FRENCH Popery, as we have been doomed to see it since the evil influences arose of which Cardinal

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* Moore was not, if we may judge from his Diary, often pleased or moved in Protestant places of worship. Thus (1819), "Good Friday: went to church. A most inhuman sermon: the sufferings described with all the monotony and coolness of an auctioneer. How different do I remember the Passion sermons in Dublin chapels, when, at the moment that the feelings of the congregation were excited to the utmost pitch by the most eloquent and impassioned description of what the Saviour had suffered, the orator suddenly produced the crucifix before them, and the whole assembly, with groans and tears, prostrated themselves on the earth."—II. 288.

The year before, this entry occurs: "Dined at half-past two, and went to church. The psalm-singing execrable, actual suffering to listen to it; and if penance and mortification be good for the soul, both preacher and singers inflict them on me abundantly at church. What an admirable epigram is that—

"If on penitence bent, you wish to keep Lent,
Just go to the Foundling and hear Dr. Dent,
And I'll be d—— d *for* you, if you don't repent."—II. 156.

Wiseman is in England the representative, he would have felt it a solemn duty to renounce a Church which in France is the eulogist of Louis Napoleon, and in Ireland is the shameless opponent of the most liberal institutions of the age.

Our space is so nearly exhausted, that we must draw this article to a close, without attempting to detail the successive publications of our author, or to estimate their comparative merits. The publication of the future volumes will enable us to resume and complete the subject.

It was in 1817 that he removed to Sloperton Cottage, near Devizes, induced, probably, to choose that locality by the friendship of the Marquis of Lansdowne, a nobleman in whom the statesman is combined with the scholar, and manners of simple kindness are the index of a pure and generous mind. In the midst of his highest literary success, and while enjoying social and domestic happiness, he is visited by stern misfortune. When he left Bermuda, instead of resigning his office, he deputed his functions to a person whom he knew to be respectably connected, and whom he supposed to be trustworthy. This man proved a defaulter, and eventually the parties whom he defrauded took proceedings against his principal. These came upon Moore with a terrible shock, revealing to him the large liability under which he had fallen by holding an office pecuniarily worthless. When, in 1819, the case was decided in the courts against Moore, and he was adjudged responsible for his deputy's frauds, his ruin seemed complete. From friends, indeed, he experienced the warmest sympathy. Offers of pecuniary help poured in upon him from Lord Lansdowne, the Marquis of Tavistock, Lord John Russell and the Bishop of Kildare. Among his literary friends, not many could afford aid from their purse; but Rogers and Jeffrey were prompt and generous in offering and even pressing help upon their unfortunate friend. This is the point of his history to which the present volumes conduct us. They leave him embarking for the Continent, to evade those legal processes which, if executed in his own country, would have consigned him to a prison, possibly for life.

"I don't know how it is," said he, when under the pressure of this shock, "as long as my conscience is sound, and that suffering is not attended by delinquency, I doubt whether even a prison will make much difference in my cheerfulness:

'Stone walls do not a prison make,' &c.

"I crossed," says his editor, "from Dover to Calais with him not long afterwards, when he was leaving his country, embarrassed by an unforeseen incumbrance, and with but an uncertain hope of an early return. Yet he was as cheerful as if he had been going for a few weeks' amusement to the Continent, and we amused ourselves with imaginary paragraphs, describing his exile as 'the consequence of an unfortunate *attachment*.'"—P. xv.

We should gladly have extracted from Moore's journals many passages descriptive of his intercourse with the distinguished men of his age. There are slight sketches of Lord Moira, Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Grey, Miss Edgeworth, Robert Emmet, Bowles the poet, Dr. Parr; and there is much in the letters of Lady Donegal and her gifted sister Miss Godfrey which would amply repay the labour of transcribing; but we prefer using the space still at our command by giving a few specimens of Moore's table-talk, appending, in the shape of notes, corrections of one or two incuriæ. Our selection will be of theological topics.

Madame de Staël and William Smith.

"Some amusing things mentioned at dinner—Madame de Staël very angry with William Smith for his Act in favour of the Unitarians: thought it was an act for the abolition of the Trinity: 'C'est vous donc (said she, on being introduced to Smith) qui ne voulez point de mystères!'"—II. 167.

Calvin—Servetus—Toleration.

"We talked of Bowles's copy of the 'Institutes' of Calvin, to which he has had a drawing prefixed, of Servetus roaring in the flames, and Calvin reading to him: underneath are the words which Calvin used in describing Servetus's sufferings, '*Ter reboabat, Hispanico more, Misericordia.*' Dumont talked of Castalion * as one of the first teachers of toleration, and who had held against Calvin and Beza, that heretics were *non gladio puniendi.* He then cited Bayle and Locke as able champions of toleration. I said that Bayle's ideas of religious freedom were, as well as Locke's, fettered by his prejudices against the Catholics. This he, Dumont, granted as to Locke, but denied as to Bayle. I find, however, I am right: in the preface to the 'Commentaire Philosophique,' Bayle not only praises the penal laws of England, but proposes a league of all Christian princes *(non Papistes),* and even of infidel princes, against Popery, and says, '*Ce ne seroit pas une ligue moins honorable que celle qu'on feroit contre les Corsaires de Barbarie.*' This is toleration with a vengeance! M. Dumont, who is a man of learning, contradicted me on this point so authoritatively, that I almost took for granted that I was mistaken. D. said that Voltaire was the only true and unqualified champion of toleration. Wonderful that a mild man like Melancthon should have approved of Calvin's burning Servetus. Lord L. said he could not have approved it in his heart, but must have merely given way to the spirit of party."—II. 168, 169.

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* Castalio, or Castellio (it should be). Reference was doubtless intended to the work published within a month of the martyrdom of Servetus, under the assumed name of Martin Bellius, 1553. Beza attributed it to Castellio and Lælius Socinus. Castellio, however, denied its authorship on oath. Various titles are given to this work. "Farrago Mar. Bellii" is sometimes mentioned as its title, but this was only Calvin's contemptuous mode of speaking of it. Its proper title is, "Dissertatio quà disputantur quo jure, quove fructu Hæretici sunt coercendi gladio vel igne." More copies than one of this rare and interesting work were sold during the past month at Leigh Sotheby's, in the library of Dr. Thomas Rees, a collection which, as far as the foreign Socinian writers are concerned, ought not to have been allowed to be broken up. It should have been deposited entire, if not in the British Museum, in Dr. Williams's Library, or that of Manchester New College.—Ed. C. R.

Unitarians.

(Jan. 30, 1819. Dinner at Lord Holland's.) "Spoke of the sect of Humanitarians: Parr's horror at this barbarous word; much more shocked as a grammarian at the word, than as a divine at the sect: but why is it more barbarous than Unitarian and Trinitarian? Talked of Arians: I mentioned Locke and Newton as Arians:* they all said *not* Newton; but I find since that Whiston pronounced him an Arian; must inquire into this."—II. 265.

(Feb. 24, 1819.) "Mr. Money the clergyman called upon me. Got on the subject of the Trinity; showed off my knowledge of the passage in Timothy, and its different readings of ὃς and Θεος;† mentioned the curious examination of the Alexandrian manuscript by Dr. Berriman and somebody else; then spoke of the verse in John; all to the astonishment, I doubt not, of the good parson."—II. 271.

Vanini the Atheist.

(Aug. 7, 1819, at Lord Lansdowne's.) "We talked of Vanini the atheist, whom, strange enough, Bowles said he had never heard of. Lord L. mentioned an anecdote (not very credible), that when this poor wretch was in the flames, he was heard to cry out 'Mon Dieu! Mon Dieu!' and on some one saying, 'Listen to him now; he owns there is a God,' Vanini answered, 'Façon de parler.' I mentioned his writing a letter to the Pope to say, that if he did not give him a benefice he would, in six months, overturn the whole Christian religion; and I believe he actually set about appointing twelve apostles for that purpose.‡ I have read one book of his, and it is very dull."—II. 350.

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* That Locke was not a Trinitarian, is certain. He might be an Arian; but it is not certain that he was not a Humanitarian. It is to be regretted that, in Lord King's Life of Locke, the chapter headed Adversaria Theologica (Vol. II. 186—194), which contains the TRINITAS and NON TRINITAS, and in which nearly all the evidence is set down by the great philosopher against the Trinity, does not also contain the Adversaria under the heads, CHRISTUS MERUS HOMO—CHRISTUS NON MERUS HOMO.—As to Newton, the testimony of Hopton Haynes, reported by Richard Baron, was distinct against his Arianism, and in favour of Humanitarianism: "he told me that Sir Isaac Newton did not believe our Lord's pre-existence, being a Socinian, as we call it, in that article."—ED. C. R.

† The reader not familiar with the criticism of the New Testament, will find this point most lucidly explained in Rev. J. Scott Porter's "Principles of Textual Criticism," pp. 482—493; and a beautiful fac-simile of 1 Timothy iii. 16, from the Codex Alexandrinus in Plate IV. of the same excellent work.—ED. C. R.

‡ Vanini threatened to overturn Christianity in *three*, not six months. But it is said the letter was written solely for amusement, and was never sent. Lord Lansdowne's story respecting Vanini's cries in the midst of the flames, is not told in "The Life of Lucilio Vanini," published in London MD.CCC.XXX. Two narratives are quoted; one, very bitter, says he "died as he had lived." The other mentions his constancy and high courage, and his refusal to obey the directions of his persecutors and "call out to God for mercy."—ED. C. R.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Unitarian Doctrine the General Faith of Christendom. By Edward Higginson, Minister of Westgate Chapel, Wakefield. 12mo. Pp. 19. E. T. Whitfield, London. 1852.

If sterling sense expressed in good English be the proper characteristics of a popular tract, this brief vindication of Unitarianism is amongst the best of its class. By various arguments and illustrations, Mr. Higginson shews that "Unitarianism is, in fact, the vital and operative part of Christianity; and, as such, it is the vital and operative spring of practical religion in all Christian churches."

"It is the central faith of Christendom! It is the practical Christianity of all who really live as Christians! It is the real belief of multitudes who avow it in private, yet timidly shelter themselves under the cover of orthodox and established churches, from the odium or annoyance of unpopular views. It is the leaven which is fast leavening the creeds of those churches which contain the principle of self-adjustment and reform. To Unitarianism, in this country, may be applied what was written in reference to a very different influence,—that it is

'Reviled yet loved, denounced yet followed.'

"That such is the case, we must accept indeed as a distinct admission of the cogency of our principles; but we must, at the same time, quote it sadly in proof also of the general want of a high moral tone in society around us, as regards the duties connected with the formation and profession of opinions. There is nothing in which our social morals are less pure. People seem hardly to understand that there is any such thing as duty concerned in being simply faithful to one's own convictions, if worldly ease or personal comfort might possibly be perilled thereby. And how blind, on the other hand, are those who venture to denounce sincere opinions opposed to their own, to the crime which they are themselves committing against human sincerity in the name of their love for theoretical orthodoxy! But, in a country in which State inquisition and legal forfeiture for opinion are unknown, it is poor-spirited indeed to suppress opinion before the mere tyranny of other men's opinion. It is sad indeed that indifference should even take to itself credit for liberality in private, while publicly screening itself behind conventionalism or conformity. Freedom of thought and avowal, which should be the simplest matter of course, is thus made to become a heroism, if not a martyrdom! How powerful is the world's dread laugh, or more dread frown, to him who stops to consider whether he shall cower before it or brave it! How weak to him who never thought for one moment of regarding either the one or the other! And little, after all, does the same laughing and frowning world love those whom it thus enslaves. But it is forced thoroughly to respect and stand in awe of the severer virtue which will not be tampered with. The morally weak and timid invite the social tyranny against themselves, by shewing themselves ready to submit to it; and thus sanction the social proscription which rages against the braver lovers of that truth which they dare not avow. Unitarians would be a large sect in this country, if there were less of religious and social terrorism, or more of high moral courage, in matters of opinion and belief, among society at large." Pp. 14, 15.

We are glad to know that an active demand for expositions of Unitarian principles has sprung up, and hope it will continue to be supplied by tracts as sensible and clearly argued as this by Mr. Higginson. It should be at once placed in the Catalogue of every Unitarian Tract Society, and on the shelves of every Tract depository.

The Restoration of Belief. No. II. On the Supernatural Element contained in the Epistles, and its Bearing on the Argument. Pp. 113—240. Cambridge—Macmillan and Co. 1852.

The first Tract of this very able and interesting series was fully reviewed in our No. for October last (pp. 581—591), and the errors and misrepresentations of a contemporary reviewer were at the same time clearly exposed. In that Tract, the essential purpose was (as shewn by *our* reviewer) to defend "the historical form in which Christianity sets forth the religion it teaches;" and very completely is that purpose accomplished. The religious effects which Christianity has produced are distinctly traced to the historical representations which it makes, which representations are shewn to have been indispensably necessary to them; and hence (as our reviewer concludes) "the strongest presumption that the facts of Christianity really happened as they are in the Christian books declared to have happened." (See Christian Reformer, 1852, p. 590.)

In the second Tract now before us, our author investigates the Supernatural Element contained in the Epistles, and shews its Bearing on his Argument. He divides the twenty-six Books of the New Testament (the Apocalypse being omitted) into three distinct classes, according to the different manner in which they severally exhibit what he appropriately terms the *cohesion* of the historical and supernatural in their contents. His division is as follows:

"I. Those [books] throughout the substance of which the historic base blends itself with the supernatural in the way of explicit and circumstantial narrative. These of course are the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

"II. Those books in which, once or oftener, some explicit affirmation of the supernatural occurs; but which contain no circumstantial narrative of miraculous events. Of this sort are Seven of the Epistles.

"III. Those in which we find no affirmation of this sort, and throughout which the supernatural makes no other appearance than that which is implicitly (though necessarily) conveyed in the primary article of the Christian profession—namely, the Resurrection of Christ. This necessary implication always understood, the writer affirms nothing that is miraculous. As many as Fourteen of the Epistles come under this category."—Pp. 128, 129.

Taking this classification in the reverse, as being the logical order, for the purpose of a rigid scrutiny, our author first shews, of the fourteen *non-supernatural* Epistles, that they abound in the *preceptive element*, and that their "apostolic writers, though they much more often omit the supernatural than advert to it, yet are never found to omit the preceptive element in their addresses to their converts." (P. 172.) "While their writings breathe throughout an intense fervour, directed towards the one object of promoting and securing the personal and social virtue of the people committed to their care, they do not in a single instance throw the stress of any ethical argument upon the supernatural attestations of their message. Throughout the Epistles, morality is made to rest upon the solid basis of universal and permanent religious considerations."—Pp. 173, 174.

He presently estimates about a half of the entire mass of these fourteen Epistles as occupied by what is directly or abstractedly preceptive, while only one part, out of 138, into which the whole may be divided, contains "affirmations or allusions implying miraculous events as known

to the writer, and for the reality of which he must be held to pledge his reputation." (P. 176.) Hence he justly concludes that these writers, "conversant as they affirm themselves to have been with supernatural events,—these writers, not one or two of them, but all, were right-minded men, and were exempt, in a most unusual degree, from the ordinary religious tendency to run into, to run after, or to drive forward, those excitements which the supernatural supplies."—P. 177.

Taking next the seven Apostolic Epistles (constituting his second class), which affirm or allude to miracles (being five Epistles of St. Paul, viz. to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians and Hebrews—here assumed to be his—and the two Epistles of St. Peter), he first shews their coherence with the non-supernatural Epistles, and then, examining each separately, proves to demonstration that its author affirms the fact of miracles boldly and unambiguously. A further and very important result of this examination we shall give in our author's own words. It deserves, both for its clearness and weight, a very thoughtful consideration.

"Note this fact, that those of the Epistles of St. Paul which contain affirmations of the supernatural, are those in which he encounters his adversaries, and administers sharp rebukes even to his attached adherents. It is also to be observed that, when we name those of his fourteen Epistles which are the most distinctly marked with the historic characteristics of genuineness, we are naming also those in which he affirms the *present occurrence* of miracles. It is thus that the purely historic and the supernatural are, as one may say, inseparably rivetted together in these writings."—P. 205.

In reply to an objection which might possibly be raised that no miracles are *specified* and no narratives of this kind are given in these Epistles, our author truly declares,

"That the historical relationship of [the Acts of the Apostles] to the Pauline Epistles has been so exhibited, in modern times, as should exclude all question as to the genuineness of either—the history, or the so related Epistles."—P. 216.

Often and often have we wished that those modern sceptics who complain, most unwarrantably, that their objections to Christianity in its supernatural character are not answered, would take in hand to demolish, or even to shake, that firm foundation of rational faith which the clear-minded Paley has laid in his Horæ Paulinæ. While this is immoveable, mere abstract philosophical conjectures and intuitive theories must continue to appear to all intelligent, sober-minded men, as presumptuous as they are vain.

The Tract before us concludes with an admirable section on the application of what our author designates as "the Force of Congruity" to Christianity and its miracles. The perusal of his remarks abundantly satisfies us that this *force of congruity* is in reality at the bottom of that strong conviction of gospel truth which the simple-minded reader of the New Testament gains from the mere reading of it—he knows not how; and that, as many men reason justly from "proofs in line" who know nothing of logic, so multitudes feel this force of congruity—proofs "meeting or collapsing in the conclusion" (I. p. 102),—who are quite incapable of tracing their convictions to it, and who perhaps imagine (as many of our popular moralists and divines at the present day try to persuade them) that they have in themselves an absolute and unerring standard of truth and rectitude which seems to render the gospel reve-

lation almost superfluous. For ourselves, we are thoroughly persuaded that it is as impossible really to dispense with the exercise of reason in the concerns of faith, as it is dangerous to attempt to do so; and that the inward spiritual light, if not largely emanating from this source and fed by all accessible outward supplies of fact and evidence, is still as much as ever liable to lead astray. We leave it to professed logicians to determine whether the *force of congruity* itself is not capable of being reduced to the form of "proofs in line:" but whether so reducible or not, it equally addresses itself to that rational faculty without which (as we think) no spiritual perceptions would ever be able to advance us toward the "perfect man"—"the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

In conclusion, we heartily commend this most interesting series of Tracts to the perusal of intelligent and religious-minded men. We only could wish that they were being published at a lower price, and that we had the whole series at once in our hands. The third Tract, advertised to be published early in October, we have not yet (December) been able to procure, though ordered a month ago. We conjure the author not to allow his work to be at last incomplete. Perhaps, also, when it is concluded, he will issue a less costly edition of the whole. We cannot doubt that there are great numbers of the intelligent middle class who would be deeply interested in reading it. Of one thing we desire, for ourselves, very gratefully to assure him,—that we cordially accept both the inferences concerning himself which he modestly suggests at the end of this Tract:—"That the writer is no timid wavérer between belief and disbelief, looking about for expedients whereby to effect a compromise of the controversy now on foot;" and, "That how decisive soever may be his own convictions as a Christian, he harbours no ill-feeling toward those to whom he opposes himself; and that, as well on the ground of temperament as of principle, he is as exempt as most men from religious arrogance, and as little addicted to dogmatism."—Pp. 239, 240.

Thus far, at least, he has fully vindicated his claims to this honourable estimation.

The Unitarian Almanac for 1853. Edited by John Webb, Resident Secretary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. Pp. 67. London—Whitfield.

This work comes out for the first time with the guarantee for its accuracy which avowed editorship can afford, and gives proofs of the care taken by Mr. Webb to make its statements of fact correct and full. The lists of chapels, and the names of ministers and their residences, are more complete and accurate than in any former Unitarian Almanac. This portion of the work will make it generally useful to the Unitarian denomination. The statement respecting our educational and religious institutions is also well executed. A few errors have fallen under our notice. At page 17, Rev. Benjamin Mardon and Rev. T. L. Marshall are wrongly put down as ministering at Brighton, instead of London and Hackney. Page 42, the Provincial Meeting of Lancashire and Cheshire is said to have been established by authority of Parliament in 1846; we suppose 1646 is meant, though the statement in that form needs some qualification.

INTELLIGENCE.

MANCHESTER NEW COLLEGE.

A special general meeting of the Trustees was held at Manchester on Wednesday, December 8, in the Cross-Street chapel rooms, in order to discuss the Report of the Special Committee appointed Dec. 17, 1851,—"to consider the general position of the College, and the question of maintaining it as an independent College, or connecting it with any other institution." The meeting excited considerable interest, and, in anticipation of it, various addresses to the Trustees were circulated, chiefly in favour of a removal to London. One of these was from three gentlemen interested in University Hall, calling on the Trustees of Manchester New College to attend the meeting and support the plan suggested by Mr. Kenrick in his letter to the Inquirer. (See C. R., Vol. VIII. p. 759.) Mr. Yates had also addressed the Trustees, recommending the abolition of the Literary and Scientific department of Manchester New College, and the establishment of scholarships, enabling students to pass three years in Owens College, or University College, or Carmarthen Academy, and any other College approved by the Committee. The Reports of the two branches of the Sub-Committee had been printed and circulated amongst the Trustees. By eleven o'clock the room became nearly full, and soon after was so inconveniently crowded, that an attempt (but unsuccessful) was made to procure a room in the neighbourhood to which the meeting might adjourn. Amongst the Trustees present were, Robert Philips, Esq., of Heybridge, President, James Heywood, Esq., M.P., Thos. Bolton Esq., Christopher Rawdon, Esq., Edmund Potter, Esq., Mark Philips, Esq., Robert N. Philips, Esq., Thos. Ainsworth, Esq., S. D. Darbishire, Esq., Robert Worthington, Esq., W. Enfield, Esq., John Watson, Esq., Richard Yates, Esq., J. B. Yates, Esq., James Yates. Esq., J. B. Estlin, Esq., Ivie Mackie, Esq., John Alcock, Esq., Russell Scott, Esq., Eddowes Bowman, Esq., Henry Bowman, Esq., J. Grimshaw, Esq., J. Grundy, Esq., Thomas Wrigley, Esq., Revds. Joseph Hutton, LL.D., J. J. Tayler, Samuel Bache, Edward Higginson, J. H. Thom, James Martineau, C. Wallace, Edward Tagart, R. B. Aspland, John Robberds, H. Green, John Wright, T. E. Poynting, John Colston, Joseph Ashton, R. Shaen, A. Worthington, &c., &c. The chair was taken by the President, who stated the circumstances which had led to the present meeting, and alluded to the fact that, at the meeting of the Special Committee in October last, on a division, the votes for removing to London in connection with University College were exactly balanced by those given in the negative. He, acting as Chairman at that time, did not feel that it would be right for him to take upon himself the responsibility of making the decision, and therefore had negatived the proposition, thinking it was only fit that such a change as that contemplated should be effected by a clear majority of Trustees. The minutes of the last special meeting of Trustees were read. One of the Secretaries read a letter from Samuel Sharpe, Esq., of London, expressing his wish that the College should continue as a theological institution only in Manchester, and that the students should receive their literary and scientific instruction in various institutions, according to the plan proposed by Mr. Yates. The following letter was also read, addressed to the Trustees of Manchester New College:

Singleton, Dec. 3, 1852.

Gentlemen,—I should not certainly have troubled you with any communication on the occasion of your present meeting, had I not been led to believe, rather indirectly than by direct communication to myself, that considerable misapprehension exists as to the grounds upon which my letter of Dec. 22, 1851, was written.

It has been said, I understand, that I had resolved to make use of legal difficulties for the purpose of enforcing my own views against the wishes of a majority.

Such, you will permit me to say, is by no means the fact.

It might be more pleasant and agreeable to myself—it might, under certain circumstances, be undoubtedly my duty, to concede my own wishes and my own opinions to the views of a majority. Such, I take leave to say, is a course which I have constantly pursued when in the position of Treasurer of the College, and which I believe that I have pursued on

every occasion when no question of high principle was involved.

But the case is different when I am asked to consent to an application of Trust property at variance with the terms of the foundation of the Trust. I am not at liberty to deal with such property according to any feelings of my own, whatever those feelings might happen to be. Entertaining the deliberate belief that the application of the property of Manchester College to London objects would be not merely a departure from the terms of the original foundation, but would endanger the objects for which that foundation was intended, and which I believe that it has long and well fulfilled, I have no power, consistently with the discharge of my duty, to assent to such an application. These were the grounds on which my letter of December 22nd was written, and no change has since taken place either in the opinions which I then expressed, or in my purpose of acting upon them.

Permit me to remark, however, that in writing that letter I had no idea that in the view which I took I should stand alone; nor did the view which I have taken originate with me. At the period of the removal of the College from York, it was frequently stated that the property of Manchester College belonged inalienably to the vicinage of Manchester, and that any Trustee of the College, or any inhabitant of Manchester wishing to have his son educated, had a vested interest in the application of the College property. And it may probably be in the recollection of others, as well as of myself, that these statements were accompanied by the intimation of a disposition to act upon the legal right to compel the return of the College from York, and prevent its removal to London.

Subsequent inquiry and reflection brought me to the conclusion, that these limitations as to the trust property of the College are correct. In the foundation of Manchester College, I find that it is a foundation for the "vicinage" of Manchester. In the memorial to the Queen presented in 1841, I find it stated, that from the Act of Toleration passed in the year 1688 to the present day, "the English Presbyterians have maintained within or near the county palatine of Lancaster a College in which University learning has been taught, and young men have been educated for professional or civil life, and especially for the Christian ministry, without subscription to human articles or confessions of faith."

To the continued maintenance of these institutions, though probably at all times struggling with difficulties, and to the succession of able and learned men trained in them or connected with them, I believe that English Presbyterian Dissent owes in no small degree the position which it has hitherto held.

I am not the person wilfully to permit the alienation of the College property from objects to which I believe that it legally, historically and equitably belongs. The discharge of individual duty is not dependent upon general opinion; and I should indeed feel myself unworthy of the confidence which you have heretofore placed in me, I should forfeit my own self-respect and feel that I forfeited all claim to respect from you, did I not in this matter discharge what I deliberately believe to be my duty.

Permit me briefly to add that I have never doubted that your decision at your annual meeting with reference to myself was founded, on the part of the body of Trustees, whatever may have been the case with individuals, upon some misconception as to facts. However I may have regretted that decision with reference to the interests of the College, I beg to assure you that it never gave me a moment's concern with reference to myself.

I remain, Gentlemen, your obedient Servant, WM. RAYNER WOOD.

Rev. JOSEPH HUTTON, LL.D., said he had great pleasure in moving, "That the best thanks of the Trustees be given to the Special Committee for the pains they had taken in drawing up the Report, and for the Report itself." The resolution was seconded by JOSEPH B. YATES, Esq., and unanimously adopted.

Rev. JOHN KENRICK proposed the first resolution in these words: "That, of the various plans for the future disposal of Manchester New College which have been submitted to the Trustees, it appears to this meeting that the one which is, under actual circumstances, the most desirable, and which is most likely to obtain the general approval and support of the friends of the College throughout the country, is the establishment of Manchester New College in London as a Theological Institution in connection, for Literary and Scientific purposes, with University College." Having read the resolution, Mr. Kenrick proceeded to say—I might almost excuse myself from making any speech on the subject, because, in fact, my speech is already before the public, and has probably been seen, in one shape or another, by every gentleman in the room. But I feel that some little explanation is necessary, in conse-

quence of my appearing now in a very different character from that which I have on former occasions sustained in respect to the question of the locality of Manchester College. I have no doubt many of my friends were greatly surprised on finding that I had so suddenly changed my opinion on this subject. I beg to say that, though the announcement might be sudden, the change in my own mind tending to that point was by no means so sudden, and if the declaration was at the last sudden, it was because the emergency was so, and the time for action was short. When we met in this room twelve months ago, it may be in the recollection of some gentlemen present that I suggested the expediency of passing resolutions to the effect (I am now reading from what I may call our *Hansard*, the excellent report given us by the editor of the *Christian Reformer*), "That this meeting, having heard the Report of the Committee on Owens College, are of opinion that the time is not come when the question of a union with that College can be satisfactorily decided. * * That the Committee on Owens College be continued, and that they be requested to report, from time to time, as fresh materials may arise." In the minutes of the meeting of December 17, 1851, which were just now read to us by the Secretary, there is no mention of my resolution, and the reason is, that it found no seconder. The motion to remove to London met with such general acceptance, as it appeared, that no one seconded my motion, and for it was substituted the resolution proposed by Mr. W. R. Wood for the appointment of a Special Committee to consider the whole subject. But, independently of this, it must be remembered what was the general tone of the meeting. Owens College seemed quite out of favour, though it was included amongst the institutions whose claims were to be taken into consideration. Nothing could be more discouraging for one who wished for a union with Owens College than the temper of that meeting. With respect to the proceedings of the Special Committee, I may observe, that I took no part in them. There was, in fact, nothing for me to do. I belonged to neither of the two Sub-committees to which the work was delegated. When the entire Special Committee was summoned in October to receive the Reports of the two Sub-committees, I came to the meeting under the impression that there would be a majority in favour of the removal to London, and I came also with the intention, if there were a motion brought forward for a junction with Owens College, to support it. I had also determined, if a junction with University College, London, should be carried, that I would acquiesce in the decision. Very unexpectedly to me, instead of our having to decide about remaining in Manchester or removing to London in connection with University College, we had a proposition brought forward for an amalgamation with University Hall. This was, in fact, the great question of discussion. We had also a third proposition, of an entirely different kind, brought forward by Mr. Yates. The consequence was, that there was much cross voting, and each proposition, successively, was negatived by a majority of the Special Committee. In reflecting on what had taken place, I considered whether or not it was a matter of principle to continue to advocate a junction with Owens College. To the plan of an amalgamation with University Hall, I felt that I could never agree; but if the basis were narrowed, and a proposition was made simply for removal to London, without amalgamation with the Hall, I did feel that, on striking a balance of the advantages on either side, it would be for the interests of the College if I could bring parties to unite in that scheme. That is the history of what has seemed, to some persons, a very sudden conversion.

We have met to-day to see if it is possible to bring this matter to a decision. Every one will admit the great importance of our coming to a final settlement of this long-vexed question. My friend Mr. Yates has reminded the Trustees in his printed statement that we have been fifteen years engaged in the discussion, and if the solution of the problem is to be postponed for another term of the same duration, neither he nor I may possibly have anything to do with its settlement. The public is becoming weary of a state of suspense, and of these periodical struggles about the locality. With regard to Owens College, I said the question was with me a balance of advantages, and I certainly do consider there would have been a considerable advantage if the state of opinion in the body of Trustees had made a junction with it practicable. Yet, if it be the opinion of a decided majority that we

ought to remove, I think that the circumstance of the general support of the Trustees will cause the plan of removal far to outweigh in advantage any other, whatever its merits may be, which will receive only partial support. It appears, on the face of the Report presented to us by the Lancashire Subcommittee, that Owens College has the recommendation of cheapness. It appears, also, that we have here the means of carrying on a theological institute, which you will have to provide if you remove to London. With respect to cheapness, it is made up of elements partly permanent, partly accidental. Regard being paid to the fees at Owens College and the expense of living in Manchester, a smaller exhibition will be sufficient. In London, looking to the fees and the expenses of living, a higher rate of exhibition will be necessary. That I consider the permanent element. The other—that here you can obtain the services of men so able as those you employ, and that these gentlemen happen to be connected with three of your principal congregations—is matter of accident, and must not be regarded as a permanent advantage. One of your present Professors is minister of the Brook-Street congregation, another of Cross-Street, and a third of the Hope-Street congregation in Liverpool. These you will agree with me are three of the first congregations in Lancashire. You will not suppose, however, that their pulpits are indissolubly connected with three of your Professorial chairs. They cannot be looked on in the light of the canonry of Christ Church, which, because the income of the Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford is small, is conferred on the person filling that chair. If a vacancy were to take place in Cross-Street chapel, the congregation would look out for the best man to supply their wants; they would not consult with you what would be the best appointment they could make for the interests of this College. I do not think, therefore, that this consideration ought to be taken into the account. The theological offices in our Colleges have hitherto depended too much on the additional support of a ministerial income, and I shall not think that you have placed them on a proper footing, till this connection is at least not necessary; for I do not deny that it may be beneficial.

But we have presented to our consideration just now not merely the two schemes of a junction with University College and Owens College, but we have various other plans, beginning with that of which Mr. Yates has printed and circulated a statement. There are several modifications of that plan, as many as five, I think, all of them agreeing in this one feature, that they make an entire change in the present plan and constitution of the College as regards the granting of exhibitions. Now I put it to all the gentlemen interested in these plans, whether, considering the difficulty we have had in coming to a decision on the simple question whether we shall remain where we are or remove to London—seeing the time it has taken to form and gather opinion on this one question, it is expedient in them to press their several plans upon the immediate attention of the Trustees. No public opinion has yet been formed upon these projects. There must be letters to the *Inquirer*, and papers in the *Christian Reformer*, and motions made at meetings of Trustees, before any of these could become ripe for action. When this process has been gone through, if your plans are wise, they will in the end triumph. You may perhaps imagine that, by not pressing forward for an immediate decision, your plans are finally excluded from view, but that is not the intention of my resolution. Contemplating the removal of the Theological department to London, I felt it to be essential that we should provide some means of carrying on the Scientific and Literary instruction, and therefore specified University College; but I by no means wish the decision we may see reason now to come to, to preclude the consideration of other plans hereafter. I should have no objection to grant exhibitions to Owens College, should the institution as a whole be removed to London. If, as I desire, the management remains in Manchester, there would be this advantage in the granting of such exhibitions, that the conduct and progress of students receiving them would be under the personal inspection of the executive of the College. There is another point in Mr. Yates's plan of which I entirely approve; it is, that we should not content ourselves with testimonials, however respectable the parties by whom they are given, but that we should in every case require the student to undergo an actual examination as to his talents and acquirements, by persons appointed by

ourselves from a knowledge of their competency for the task. While, therefore, I shall be glad if the gentlemen who have plans to suggest will for the present defer them, I by no means wish to preclude the fair and full consideration of all of them at a proper time; but I do wish to bring the principal matter before us to-day to a distinct and tangible issue. With regard to London, there are some friends of mine who do not consider this to be a subject properly decided by a balance of advantages, so strong is their opinion that it is an unsuitable and even a dangerous place for the education of young men, and especially of our future ministers. I do not for a moment deny that the system under which the young men would be brought up, if a union with Owens College were effected, is good, but neither is there anything necessarily to prevent their being educated in virtuous habits and fitted in every important respect for the exercise of the Christian ministry in London. Even Mr. Kentish, in his speech in 1848, said, "I do not particularly object to a removal to the Metropolis as such," though he is known to entertain strong opinions in favour of the College remaining in Manchester. He did not therefore resist the removal to London on the ground of essential principle. Allow me to quote the authority of the late Mr. Belsham. His opinion is entitled to some weight, because he was the only example, as far as I recollect, of an Academical Tutor in the last century who had actual experience both of a provincial and a metropolitan College—the former at Daventry and the latter at Hackney, a name which may sound of evil omen to a Dissenting Academy. If gentlemen will look into Mr. Williams's Life of Mr. Belsham,* they will see that it was his firm conviction that if from the first he had been entrusted with sufficient authority for the control of the students in the domestic establishment, instead of that authority being vested in the hands of the Committee, and if he had not come to the College at Hackney when financial imprudence had half ruined it, he could have carried it on successfully and with perfect satisfaction to himself; and he never swerved from that opinion. So strongly, indeed, was he impressed with the conviction that London was the proper place for a College, that when he preached a sermon on behalf of the Academy established under my father at Exeter, he somewhat inappropriately, as it appeared at the time, took the opportunity of dwelling on the great desirableness of a metropolitan institution. It appears to be thought that the style of life, the habits that generally prevail in London, are unfavourable to that sobriety which ought to characterize our ministers. That feeling is, I believe, strongest with those who have not had much personal knowledge of London,—who think, from their experience in short occasional visits, of its amusements and hospitality, that life there consists in a round of spectacles and dinner parties. But there are hundreds of thousands of persons living there, of intelligence and steady industry, who pursue their daily duties at an equal distance from the scenes of fashionable dissipation and the vice which disgusts us in police reports. When the question was first discussed in 1839, and ample reports were prepared, setting forth the comparative advantages of education in Manchester or in London, it was said there was a want of activity in religious matters in the London portion of our religious body; and, on the other hand, it was urged that there was a great advantage in this respect in Lancashire, where the spirit of Dissent was strong and vigorous, and institutions of many kinds existed in which educational and philanthropic zeal might be exerted and trained. Whatever were the case then, I think it cannot be said now with justice of our London friends that there is no religious

* Williams's Life of Belsham, p. 453. "The system of internal management and discipline first instituted was injudicious and impracticable; and when a better was adopted, the funds of the College were exhausted, and the event was melancholy and disastrous. An institution for the education of young men designed for the Christian ministry among the liberal Dissenters, under the superintendence of learned and efficient tutors, near the metropolis, is much wanted." In a letter dated Feb. 19th, 1796, Mr. Belsham says, "If my plan had been pursued, the institution could never have been reduced to the state in which it is. A constant vigilant superintendence of the tutors such as I proposed, would have checked those irregularities which in the vicinity of London could not be checked by any other means."—P. 461.

zeal amongst them. They may be fairly put upon an equality now with other parts of the kingdom in that respect. There is no room for an Unitarian of the provinces saying to them, "Stand by, for I am holier than thou." I have no doubt that, with careful superintendence, such as will be in any case provided, any inconveniences from London society may be obviated. Nor do I fear, on the other hand, that our students will be left quite unnoticed. I do not doubt that many friends will be willing to take a kindly notice of them. I shall be glad if anything I have said on this subject of the influences of London society could remove doubts or hostile impressions from the minds of any of my friends. The question that has been raised about the legal right to remove from Manchester, I must confess does not appear to me entitled to much consideration, as I am convinced that we may remove to London without any violation of the spirit of our institution.

There is only one other remark which I am anxious to make. When we first determined to come here, there was a long and anxious discussion about the propriety of that step, and the result was brought about by a very small, and, as it was said, quite accidental majority. When, a few years afterwards, the question again was raised, votes of the Trustees were equally divided. The gentlemen who were then in favour of removing to London, though adhering to their opinions, did not create a schism amongst us; they did not withdraw their subscriptions; many of them increased them, for the purpose of fully carrying out the plan to which they had been opposed. Is it then too much to ask the gentlemen who may be in favour of remaining in Lancashire, if at the close of this discussion they should find themselves in a minority, that instead of breaking up the noble subscription list which it has taken so much fostering and anxious care and so many years of exertion to form (for when I first went to York it was with great difficulty that a salary of £80 per annum could be spared out of the College funds for me), they will rather forget all that is past, and unite with their opponents in a cheerful and harmonious effort to carry on the institution successfully, and secure in a new locality the one great object we all have in view. To whatever remarks I may be exposed for having changed my opinions, I shall feel little regret, if I am enabled hereafter to think that anything I have written or said has had the effect of producing this happy result. (Mr. Kenrick sat down amidst general applause.)

Mr. Mark Philips, in seconding the resolution just introduced to their acceptance, said it would be a vain thing for him to attempt to travel over the ground so ably occupied by Mr. Kenrick, with the idea that he could make the question more lucid by any explanations or arguments of his own. He stood in a peculiar position as a Trustee of the several institutions now before the meeting. He was not only a Trustee of Manchester New College, but he had been named by the late Mr. Owens one of the original Trustees for carrying into effect the provisions of his will, and he had also had the honour of laying the foundation-stone of University Hall. He valued them all; but his own Alma Mater, Manchester College, he placed first and foremost. Towards all, but especially towards this, he felt that it was a sacred duty to take no false step. He had weighed well the consequences of removing the institution. Some time since he came to the decision that they ought not to remain in Manchester; still, he had not refused to give his cordial assistance in the attempt to prolong the period of the trial of the College there. But he did consider that the period had come when some change must be made; and he believed that the change would be for the better if they determined to join a tried institution, in which, more than any other before them, there was what he confidently relied on both for excellence and stability — University College. They of course would not expect him to say anything against an institution which had such claims upon him as Owens College; but it was still in an infant state. He did not, moreover, hesitate to say that, owing to their connection with a commercial district, its students were in danger of being withdrawn from their Professors—a staff of men of first-rate talent—at too early an age to allow them to reap all the benefit they might otherwise derive from the institution. Why should the Trustees of Manchester New College propose to connect their institution—which was no infant, which was highly respected and cherished by them all — with a feeble and untried institution? Why should they make a move in a direc-

tion which gave them no prospect of permanent advantage? The students of Manchester New College required to travel through a range of instruction far higher and more extensive than was given in Owens College. He regarded it as essential that their students should have every possible advantage of competition and emulation with other young men of equal talent. They should meet competitors in goodly numbers, and not in classes of two or three. He could not too seriously impress upon the minds of gentlemen the importance to their students of entering into free competition. The circumstances of the age in which they lived would not allow young men being isolated without injury to themselves. They must be stimulated by early competition. He was also a great advocate for the non-separation of laymen and divinity students. He was certain that it was of the utmost importance that there should be a cordial good feeling between the two classes, and that early friendship should be added to the other ties that bind our ministers to their flocks. He had no desire that the institution should be removed from Manchester, if he believed that any tolerable amount of success could be achieved there. The trial had been fairly made, the failure had been fully proved, and the time had come for a change. He must say one word with respect to the anticipation of the result of removal to London. He believed that if a man were viciously disposed, it mattered little where he was placed: he would find opportunities of indulging in depraved tastes in Manchester, as well as in London or Paris. He anticipated no injury to the morals of their students by the proposed change of scene. The moral surveillance proposed to be exercised would be sufficient for every important object. In London, very important advantages would accrue to the young men, independently of and in addition to those connected with their direct studies. Was it nothing that every court of law was open to them, in which they could study forensic eloquence? Everything that was intellectual and improving was concentrated within their reach. They would be able to employ their leisure in visiting the Houses of Parliament, noble Galleries and Libraries, and that national institution, the British Museum. There were evident advantages in a metropolitan residence which the provinces could not give. Everybody now-a-days went to London. He hoped and should like to see their College, in its proposed residence, a focus of attraction to Unitarians from all parts of the kingdom. Other religious communities had their meetings for a week and a month together in the metropolis. Why should not Unitarians benefit by something of the same centralization? These were his deliberate views. He had scrutinized the matter with great anxiety. He repeated that he held all the three institutions which had claims upon him in great esteem, but he gave the whole weight of his feeling to his beloved Alma Mater. He was anxious for her renewed prosperity. He wished to see her once more raise her head, and be, as she deserved, universally respected, and crowned with a degree of usefulness far exceeding that which she now possessed. He felt much greater confidence in the soundness of his views, and in the decision to which he had long ago arrived, now that he saw that his views were supported by the calm judgment and high authority of his reverend friend, whose motion he begged leave cordially to second. (Applause.)

Rev. Edward Tagart wished to mention one fact which had fallen under his own personal knowledge. There had been twelve young men educated in the General Baptist Academy of London, all of whom he had the pleasure of knowing. Of these, eleven had gone on to the completion of their studies, and there had not been any one instance in the Academy of wrong conduct. The ministers educated in that metropolitan establishment were many of them now filling useful and important stations. With such a fact before them, there need be no question respecting the unexceptionable character of London as a place of education.

James Yates, Esq., rose for the purpose of bringing forward an amendment on the resolution just proposed and seconded. That motion had, in substance at least, been twice previously brought before a meeting of Trustees. In the first instance it had been met by a simple negative, and in the second by carrying the previous question. He wished that course could be adopted on the present occasion. The constitution of the College made it quite impossible that this resolution could be carried into effect. Gentlemen said, indeed, that this difficulty could be cured by an Act of Parliament.

He for one did not assent to that opinion. No Act of Parliament could make that right which was in itself wrong. In order to make this point clear, he begged leave to make some reference to the state of the Dissenters when Manchester College was originally founded. Most of the academies previously in existence had ceased. That at Daventry alone remained, supported by Coward's Fund. It then became a matter of grave and anxious consideration to the educated and wealthy Dissenters, how they should under these circumstances maintain their intellectual position in England, and procure an adequate supply of educated ministers for their pulpits. They determined to set on foot two institutions, one at Hackney and another at Manchester. That at Hackney had the precedence. He had before him the resolutions passed by the friends of the Hackney College, January 13, 1786. The second resolution stated "that it was of the greatest importance to the Protestant Dissenters, that proper seminaries should be established on liberal principles for the education of their ministers;" the third, "that the dissolution of the academies at Hoxton, Warrington and Exeter, renders the most serious and general attention to this important subject immediately necessary;" the fourth, "that they esteemed it their duty to attempt without delay the establishment of an academical institution *in or near the Metropolis*, for the education of ministers." And in a subsequent resolution the Chairman was desired to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the Trustees of the late *Warrington Academy*, and to request their concurrence in favour of the object of them. Notwithstanding their knowledge of the designs of the London gentlemen thus officially communicated to them, the founders of Manchester College determined to have an academy of their own. Accordingly, a very respectable meeting of gentlemen was held on the 22nd day of February, 1786 (the very year of the establishment of Hackney College), when it was unanimously agreed, after due deliberation, that an academy should be established in Manchester, on a plan affording a full and systematic course of education for divines and preparatory instruction for the other learned professions, as well for civil and commercial life. In order to shew the views which prevailed in their minds in establishing this new institution, he would refer to the original resolutions, and to the admirable discourse delivered on September 14, 1786, at the public commencement of the College, by Dr. Barnes. The preliminary resolutions passed by the founders declare—"1. That no place of education for youth, on the liberal and extensive plan proposed, subsists within the distance of more than a hundred miles; that the great populousness of this vicinage, the opulence of its inhabitants, the number and respectability of the Dissenters, and the increasing taste for learning, insure both adequate support and a constant succession of pupils. 2. That the town is remarkable for a well-regulated police, and for a serious attention to the duties of public worship; and that the industry, ingenuity, and enterprizing spirit which characterize the people, cannot fail to influence by example, and may catch the minds of youth by a secret and powerful sympathy; that Manchester contains one of the largest public libraries in the kingdom, to which access may be had at stated times; that the *Literary and Philosophical Society* have avowed a generous zeal 'to foster rising genius, to incite emulation, and to give energy to the powers of the human mind, by calling them forth into early exertion;' and that it may be presumed they will admit the senior academics to attend their more instructive discussions; that another institution established here (College of Arts and Sciences, instituted June 6, 1783) may furnish opportunities of acquiring both the practical and theoretic knowledge of Chemistry, Anatomy, Physiology, and other branches of science," &c., &c. In his inaugural address, Dr. Barnes said, in allusion to the establishment of the Hackney College and the existence of Coward's College, "It is of great importance to the cause we have in view, *that several academies subsist together, in different parts of England.* In every region where they are established, they bring liberal education within the reach of many. * * * The region which we inhabit is populous and wealthy. Our own town alone seemed likely to supply a considerable number of pupils. It is the centre of a large and opulent district, beyond which lie many large towns and even counties, to which, it was presumed, the opportunity of enjoying the means of academical education would not be unwelcome." After referring to the dissolution of the Warrington Academy, Dr. Barnes pro-

ceeded: "*Shall we have no similar establishment in the northern parts of England?* Shall we have no ministers educated amongst ourselves, of whose characters, abilities and sentiments, we can form the most certain knowledge?" Dr. Barnes, too, dwells upon the advantages which Manchester offered in respect to masters in the principal and auxiliary departments of science, the good local government, the energy of the spirit of the inhabitants, and particularly on the recent establishment of the *College of Arts and Sciences* in Manchester. This point deserved the particular attention of the Trustees. Dr. Barnes said, "The friendly correspondence which subsists between the patrons of that institution and the supporters of our academy, is a circumstance mutually favourable to both establishments, and to that common cause which gave them birth. By this friendly co-operation, the circle of studies which young men may attend among us is agreeably enlarged, and opportunities afforded which could not have been equally enjoyed in a single institution, or in a more confined sphere." Mr. Yates then proceeded to argue that all the reasons adduced by Dr. Barnes and the founders for establishing a College in Manchester, applied now with increased force to the propriety of its continuance there. It was an essential part of the original plan that it should be an institution for the education of Dissenters in the north of England. The funds were raised here, the management was kept here, and he submitted that Trustees of the present day had no right whatever to remove it from this region. There had been a Committee, consisting of two legal gentlemen, appointed to examine the legal bearings of this question, and they came to a similar conclusion. To put the matter out of the pale of doubt, they agreed on a case, and submitted it to two eminent Chancery barristers, Mr. Bethell and Mr. Roundell Palmer, and their opinion was, that legally the College could not be diverted from Manchester. But there is talk of an Act of Parliament. Why is it to be brought before our consideration? Simply because the change proposed cannot with propriety or justice be effected. If it could, the original constitution might admit of it without an Act. But he did not believe that Parliament would consent to pass such an Act. He had listened with very deep interest to the letter addressed to them that day by their late Treasurer,—a letter evidently written under the strongest sense of moral duty as a Trustee, and of filial reverence for an institution in the rearing of which his late excellent father had taken so conspicuous a part. It was by the watchful zeal and the financial talent of the late Mr. George William Wood, that about three-fourths of their invested property had been accumulated. It had been most carefully managed; no financial matters could have been more successfully conducted. When a noble institution like Manchester College has been reared and carried on by the late Mr. Wood (to whom in many ways that town was so largely indebted), it was natural, and in his view most commendable, that his son should feel it a moral duty to resist an attempt to divert the institution to a distant locality. He (Mr. Yates) regarded the question before them as absolutely concluded by the view he had been led to take. If the resolution proposed by Mr. Kenrick were carried, it would not be what its mover anxiously desired, putting an end to their difficulties; but it would be in reality the letting out the waters of strife. Much had been said on the comparative advantages of Manchester and London. He had no objection to young men being educated in London. He had always been a zealous supporter of every scheme of liberal education. With regard to University College, he had taken much interest in it; and he might say the same with regard to University Hall. He would add, that he took a warm interest in the success of Owens College. He did not see the balance of advantages in favour of London that had been alluded to. He thought the various institutions existing in Manchester were well calculated to promote the intellectual welfare of our students. The libraries, the chapels, their excellent preachers, and their extensive Sunday-schools, offered peculiar advantages. In all these points London must give way to Manchester. On the merits of Owens College he was able to speak from actual observation and knowledge. He had conversed with the Professors, he had attended some of their lectures, and observed their method of instruction. He considered that the Trustees of Owens College were entitled to great praise for the judicious appointments they had made and the admirable institution they had opened. He was most anxious

that a system of free and open competition for scholarships should be established in connection with their own College. On this subject he spoke with full confidence. The examination of students on a principle of free and open competition was a matter with which his mind had long been familiar. He had suggested such a plan fourteen years ago. He considered that it would be a strictly legal course for the Trustees now to resort to Owens College for instruction in literature and science. The founders in 1786 referred to the "College of Arts and Sciences" as a valuable auxiliary institution, of which they might avail themselves for the education of their own students. He argued that if in the original scheme of the founders provision was made for the students resorting in part to another College in Manchester, it fully justified the Trustees of the present day in doing the same thing. Owens College had now more than sixty students, whose ages began at fourteen and went on to thirty (a laugh). They were at least old enough for their purpose. The number was sufficient for all the purposes of competition. There were evident advantages in young men joining classes not too large. He submitted that on a great question like that before them, it was not proper to rest the decision on a mere majority of votes. The Trustees should consider that they have to carry out a foundation for most valuable purposes. Mr. Kenrick had referred to the duty of bowing to the will of the majority. Would the accident of a small majority justify them in applying to other purposes that property and those estates which had been gathered together for a College in this part of England? Mr. Kenrick had avowed his somewhat rapid change of opinion. Why, Mr. Kenrick might change his opinion as rapidly again. The constitution of the College had provided a mode for effecting the alienation of its property, if it were to be done at all. The original list of subscriptions is headed by this remarkable statement: "The annexed resolution specifies the conditions on which the benefactions are received: That if from unforeseen causes this institution shall, in the opinion of the Trustees present at two successive meetings, formally convened, with an interval of at least fourteen days, cease to answer the valuable purposes for which it has been established, the remaining property shall be divided amongst the benefactors and their legal representatives, in proportion to their benefactions, provided the same be claimed within one year after such determination of the Trustees." He believed, however, that they had not reached this condition. The number of students was indeed small, but not smaller than it had been in previous times. He had drawn up an amendment upon the resolution of Mr. Kenrick, with moving which he should conclude; and in case it were carried, he trusted he should receive from the Trustees permission to develop some of his plans, which were in perfect accordance with it, and, as he conceived, with the original plan and intention of the College—"That it is expedient that the Literary and Scientific department, as recently conducted, be for the present discontinued; that the Committee be instructed to carry this resolution into effect as speedily as shall be compatible with the fulfilment of all existing engagements; and that Owens College in this town presents means of supplying the deficiency thus created, by affording the opportunities of Literary and Scientific instruction."

Rev. Samuel Bache said he rose to second the amendment, and desired at the outset to exculpate himself from the possible charge of presumption in opposing himself to the opinions and judgment of those who were certainly entitled at all times to his most respectful attention. It seemed, however, utterly useless for the Special Committee to have devoted so much time and labour to the inquiries delegated to them by the Trustees, if those Trustees were not to endeavour to exercise an independent judgment on the several important matters contained in the Report. He was sure, however, that neither Mr. Kenrick nor Mr. Philips would personally accuse him of any impropriety in taking the course to which he was impelled by individual conviction and a sense of duty. He had read these Reports with great attention; and having read the Report of the Lancashire branch of the Sub-committee, and their lucid explanation of the great advantages that would accrue from resorting to Owens College, he must say he was amazed to find there was a difference of opinion on the subject. Looking at the question simply on its own merits, it did appear to him that no circumstances could be more favourable than those in which Manchester New College was now placed in regard

to Owens College. The report of the present condition and future prospects of that institution—attested to them by the authority of Mr. Tayler, Mr. Martineau and Mr. Gaskell—was far more favourable than, under all the circumstances of the case, he had ventured to anticipate. He listened without conviction to the plea for centralizing every interest in the metropolis. In time past many persons, and, as he thought, with reason, took the opposite ground of the importance of their having and fostering *provincial* institutions. He was an enemy to this new passion for centralization. He did not wish to see all interests and associations centred in London. He believed greater advantages would result from their being diffused throughout the country. If, for instance, it were true, as had been hinted, that the people of Manchester were not yet up to the mark, and did not yet fully appreciate the worth of institutions which sought to give the young of the middle classes the means of high intellectual culture, let them be brought up to the mark by the continuance amongst them, and the gradual but certain influence, of a noble institution like Manchester College. It would never do to have all that is educated and polished and refined crowded together in the metropolis, and to have only uneducated barbarism in the provinces. He was desirous of seeing the standard of education raised in every town in the kingdom; he was desirous of seeing it raised in Manchester. How was this to be effected? Certainly not by taking from amongst its people the most advanced educational establishment they had. It appeared from the Report that at present the number of students at Owens College had been kept down by the desire of the Principal and Professors to preserve the distinction between a College and a School education, and their determination to enforce from the candidates for admission to their College a stringent preliminary examination. Was not their desire to raise the standard of education and the tone of intellectual feeling in this great and populous district deserving of their respect and help? Were the Trustees of Manchester New College to withdraw their aid at a critical moment from those gentlemen in their most praiseworthy efforts? He could not too strongly express his conviction that the learned and able Principal and Professors of Owens College ought to be assisted by the Trustees of Manchester College—ought to receive from the gentlemen around him the right hand of fellowship. How important was the principle involved in this great institution! Owens College was established by its enlightened and generous founder for the purpose of diffusing amidst the inhabitants of this important and densely-peopled district the benefits of University learning, without the snare of a religious test and the evil of sectarian intolerance. Was not this identically the object of the founders of Manchester New College? Was not this the great object which each generation of its Trustees had aimed to secure? Was it right or proper that such an institution should be deserted by those who approved of its principles and had the power of rendering it most material service? Putting aside for a moment the interests of Manchester College, and looking alone to the objects of Owens College, he could not bring himself to believe that any of the gentlemen before him who were Trustees of that College could lightly disregard their duty, and refuse to avail themselves of a great opportunity of assisting in giving effect to the wise and benevolent intent of its founder. Unless everything were to be taken to London, and absorbed in a metropolis already inconveniently large and unwieldy, it was of great importance—more so than at first sight might appear—that this College, at present free and unsectarian, should be supported by those who understood and valued its principle of respect for religious freedom. Was there no danger, if they withdrew their countenance and refused their aid, that the College would fall into dangerous hands? On the part of those to whom were committed the preservation of both trusts, it did appear to him that it would be little short of a desertion of duty if they should neglect the present remarkable opportunity of advancing the great objects of both by a union equally serviceable to each institution. If their own College were not already situated in Manchester—if, situated at a distance from both London and Manchester, the question now were, to which place the College should be removed, he admitted that the claims of Manchester would be less strong than they were. But there they were on the ground already. Would it be right or prudent to shut their eyes to all the advantages connected with the place

in which they actually were, and remove to a distant scene? If, indeed, the people of Manchester were to rise and say, We take no interest in you—nay, more, we are thoroughly wearied of you, and wish you gone—he should feel embarrassed; but he was not aware that this was the feeling of the Manchester Trustees. What he thought of great consequence was the fact, that the College had in every period of its history drawn the bulk of its means of support from this part of the kingdom. Here the Unitarians unquestionably possessed wealth, respectability and influence, far, far beyond what they did or could possess in London. If it were a mere sectarian influence possessed by our body here, if it were devoted to narrow or unworthy ends, he should be little disposed to dwell upon it with satisfaction; but he did value it because he saw it perpetually employed in furthering great and noble principles, beneficial not to a sect only, but to society at large. In this town our youth see practically illustrated the principles of freedom and habits of philanthropy, which we regard as forming the very essence of our religious system. In London they will see a very different state of things from that which exists here. They will be exposed to influences and the formation of tastes scarcely compatible with that isolated position to which, in his judgment, for a long time to come the friends of free inquiry in this country were doomed and must be content to remain. Much had been said of the legal impediments to a removal from Manchester. On that point he knew nothing, and therefore had nothing to say on the subject. They had heard much in the course of the discussion respecting the advantages of fixing the College in London. Granting that the circumstances were correctly stated, he should be little disposed to dwell upon them as advantageous to the students of a well-disciplined College. If a student were habitually attentive to his College duties, he knew from experience that he could have little time to devote to other pursuits. He would have little leisure for visiting courts of justice, the Houses of Parliament, picture galleries and works of art. He had endeavoured to consider and argue this subject solely on its merits. He repeated that it was through the influence produced on his mind by the Committee's Report that he now felt it his duty to second Mr. Yates's amendment. Before he sat down, he wished to say a word or two in respect to the number of the students reported at Owens College, and the number in our own College. It appeared that there were more than fifty students in Owens College. He was prepared to a great extent to admit the benefits of competition and generous scholastic emulation; but he was satisfied that all the materials for it existed at Owens College. Fifty students would secure these advantages as completely as 500. On the other hand, it was well known to those practically versed in College routine, that classes might be inconveniently and dangerously large. A few students of brilliant talents might be surrounded with increased eclât, but the great mass of students would be neglected in the performance of class-work. Use had been made, in the discussion of this question, of the small number of students in Manchester College: it had been adduced as a proof that the locality was unfavourable. He wished on this subject to warn them against a great delusion. As far as divinity students were concerned, locality had nothing to do with it. The root of the evil was different and far more deeply seated. They who identified the limited number of divinity students with the position of the College at Manchester, took for granted what they would find it difficult to prove. This branch of the argument would open a subject of wide bearing, involving all the circumstances of the religious body, and the condition—in so many respects the deplorable and most undeserved condition—of our ministry. For his part, he was persuaded, that place the College where they would—surround it as they might with attractions and advantages—they would find no increase in the number of their students for the Christian ministry, until the congregations to whom those young men were afterwards to minister were roused from their most culpable lethargy, and reminded that they, as well as their ministers, had duties, and shewed that they were ready to fulfil them. Allusion had been made to the probable result of the meeting. To him that result was unknown and uncertain. But he desired to express his hope that, whatever might be the decision come to, all the Trustees, both those present and those absent, would consent, forgetting individual differences of opinion, to persevere—as in time past, so in time to come

—in an united and strenuous effort to maintain the College in a manner worthy of the great principles of which they were the representatives and the guardians. (Considerable applause.)

James Heywood, Esq., M.P., wished to make a remark or two on the presumed objection to removing the College from Manchester on the ground of the founders' intent. Dr. Percival, his grandfather, was one of the most active of the founders of Manchester College in 1786. The establishment, it is well known, did not fulfil the sanguine hopes of its founders. Plans were taken into consideration for the removal of the College to another situation, and it is stated in the Life of Dr. Percival, written by his son Dr. Edward Percival, that he was rather desirous that the College should be removed to Glasgow and carried on in connection with the classes in the University there. He (Mr. James Heywood) believed that the main principle of the founders was the preservation of a perfectly free system of education. Dr. Percival was, in fact, alive at the time of the removal of the institution to York, and must be considered to have approved of that step. With regard to the return of the College to Manchester in 1840, he and most of its friends were very sanguine as to the result. Their expectations were disappointed. The experiment had been tried, and to his mind it had failed. The divinity students, he thought, ought to follow the lay students, and the latter were certainly found to resort chiefly to University College. The association of laymen and divines he thought to be most desirable. He did not see how in Owens College this could be obtained. The University of London was by degrees concentrating around it a considerable number of graduates, men of high education and attainments, whose society would be of the greatest advantage to the students of their College. Reference was made in the Report to the resorting of students of the Lancashire Independent College to Owens College; but a gentleman high in office* in the Independent College had informed him that the adoption of Owens College was only a temporary expedient. The founders of the Independent College had, they knew, erected a handsome pile of buildings, and were chained by it to their present locality. It was a fortunate thing for the Trustees of Manchester New College that their goods and chattels were all of a moveable nature. With respect to the legal argument, he had no doubt it could be removed by the omnipotence of an Act of Parliament. With the example of the Dissenters' Chapels Act before them, they need not apprehend that Parliament would refuse its sanction to their removal. As modern Presbyterians had alleged in 1844, so Manchester Trustees might allege, the descendants of the founders had changed their minds. There were, besides, some London names in the original list of benefactions and subscriptions. If they went to Parliament for an Act, he should be happy to help them in the House of Commons. The question which the Trustees had to settle that day, however, was not a mere discussion of locality, but the broader and far more important question, how they could secure for the young men preparing for the ministry a liberal education in the best possible manner.

Rev. Edward Higginson alluded to the various changes of opinion which had taken place, and his regret that the subject of a sole junction with Owens College was revived. He had hoped that, after Mr. Kenrick's letter, that scheme would not have reappeared. For himself, he was greatly impressed in favour of the plan explained by Mr. Yates in his circular letter to the Trustees. He wished to see the Theological establishment retained in Manchester, and scholarships granted to young men enabling them to obtain their preliminary scientific and literary education at other institutions in various parts of the kingdom. It was objected against this scheme that it finally kept the divinity students apart from the laymen. But he did not think there was much weight in this objection. The divinity students might still form friendships with their companions in study, whe-

* We do not think it right to print the name of Mr. Heywood's authority, as we have since the meeting been informed by a friend of the Lancashire College that the arrangement is believed to be quite satisfactory, and more likely to be carried out to a further extent than at present than to be discontinued. The distance between the Lancashire College and Owens College is considerable, and an omnibus is daily engaged to convey the students between the two institutions. The entire expense of fees and daily conveyance only slightly exceeds £100 per annum.

ther at Owens, University College or elsewhere, during the first three years of their course; and he believed that practically it was only during that term that intimacy existed between the two classes. At the end of three years the laymen had finished their course, and it was seldom that confidential intercourse took place between the senior divines and the lay *freshmen*. It was a consideration in favour of Mr. Yates's plan, that it would meet the legal difficulty. Was it matter of necessity to seek the sanction of an Act of Parliament? They ought to be distinctly informed whether the decision to remove to London would necessarily be followed by an application for an Act of Parliament, and whether, if the opposition threatened there were attempted, it would be likely to succeed?

J. Aspinall Turner, Esq., said he had taken considerable share in the investigations carried on by the Sub-committee. The result was, that he joined heartily with those members of the Committee who advocated the propriety of seeking aid in the Literary and Scientific department from Owens College. He had in Committee moved a resolution to that effect: Mr. Kenrick seconded it. They did not succeed in carrying their resolution. It had been his intention not to take any active part in the day's discussion, but simply to vote according to his own sentiments. Several gentlemen had changed their opinions, and had explained that they did so for the sake of peace. He had not changed his opinions; but probably he should not have brought them forward had not a resolution been proposed by Mr. Yates with which he entirely concurred. But he (Mr. T.) rose more particularly to advert to another matter, brought before their notice in the letter of Mr. W. R. Wood, and alluded to by preceding speakers. It was said they might have some strife as the result of their probable decision that day. He hoped not. Therefore he now addressed them. He earnestly hoped that the decision would be in favour of Mr. Yates's amendment, and that that would be the means of terminating all disputes. But if it should prove the will of the majority that day, and of the Trustees at large, that it was better to give up their present plan, and to make a junction with University College, inasmuch as many gentlemen had afforded their aid to the College at Manchester against their own opinions and wishes, he should not be less ready to make sacrifices of individual opinion, and acquiesce in the decision of the majority. He should always be ready to act with the body of Unitarian Dissenters, whose opinions he cordially embraced, and in whose communion he hoped to live and die.

Rev. Joseph Hutton, LL.D., felt constrained to express his disagreement from the opinion of Mr. Higginson respecting the non-intercourse of divinity students and laymen. His own experience had been different; and he felt great value for friendships formed at College, under the circumstances alluded to, with young laymen. He had long regretted the isolation of the students in Manchester New College, and desired to see them placed in circumstances better calculated to give expansion to their views and feelings. He felt satisfied they must adopt one of the two plans now before them. They should consider which was the best for their denominational influence. They were not sufficiently strong to support more than one institution: which should they join? To him, it was clear that the best thing they could do was to connect themselves with University College—an institution of high merit, and which had always numbered amongst its alumni a considerable number of their young laymen.

A conversation here ensued, in which Mr. Yates, Mr. Higginson and others, took part. In the course of it, Mr. Mark Philips said, if an Act of Parliament was necessary to justify the removal of the College to London, he hoped and believed there was sufficient spirit in the Unitarian body to obtain that Act without trespassing for a shilling on the ordinary funds of the College.

Rev. R. Brook Aspland said, that as he had already had an opportunity, through that part of the Report in the hands of the Trustees which had been drawn up by the Lancashire portion of the Sub-committee, of expressing his views, there might seem little occasion for his trespassing on their attention at that time. He had during the last twelve months given the subject much anxious, and he believed impartial, attention; and the conclusion to which he had come, and from which he saw no reason to swerve, was, that it was desirable to join Manchester College to the Owens College. While, therefore, he was prepared to support the amendment moved by Mr. Yates,

he thought it better not to content himself with a silent vote, because he was unable to accord with all the arguments with which that gentleman had introduced his resolution. With the legal objection to a removal from Manchester he could not meddle. Whatever might be its weight in a court of law, he could not arrive at the conclusion that the essential principle involved in the foundation of the College was the establishment of an educational institution in the vicinage of Manchester. He rather believed that the great object of the founders of Manchester College was, to establish a place of education for both ministers and laymen, *free from religious tests*. That was, in his view, a principle worthy of the sacrifices and the zeal of the founders and their present representatives. It was because he believed that that principle would be scrupulously observed, and most successfully and enduringly carried out, by the retention of the College in the North of England, that he was a dissentient from Mr. Kenrick's resolution. He must look to the future; and, instructed by the past history of our academies, he could not with any confidence entrust the care of the College to the South of England. Mr. Kenrick had justly remarked that Hackney was a word of evil omen to Dissenting academies. Twice in the neighbourhood of the metropolis had the experiment been tried, under what were thought favourable but very various auspices, of establishing a College, and on each occasion it had signally failed. He was aware, indeed, that the circumstances under which those experiments were made, differed in one important respect from the present state of things. Then, there was no auxiliary like the noble institution of University College, for such (notwithstanding the perception of its defects) he was ready to concede that it was. But a supply of literary and scientific instruction was not the only difficulty to be encountered in removing to London. With respect to that, he must observe that, excellent as University College was in many respects—distinguished as some of its Professors were for their attainments—the curriculum of instruction had its weak points. Let them remove the College to London, and if they intended to give its students as good instruction as they had been accustomed to in Manchester, they must supply in two certainly, probably in three, important departments, instruction in addition to that offered in University College. In this particular he was confident that Owens College was, on the whole, not inferior to University College. But how did the case of London stand in respect to the Theological Faculty? Could London supply such a staff of Professors as those who now adorned Manchester College by their learning and their devoted zeal to the institution? He believed not. It was, indeed, admitted on all hands that they must import from distant places their Theological Professors. He thought that it behoved those who counselled the Trustees to remove the College to London, to explain to them their scheme for re-establishing the Theological Faculty. No such explanation had been given them—not even the assurance that a feasible scheme existed. He had received vague hints of a scheme, but of its practicability he could form not the slightest idea. In deciding to break up the existing establishment, the Trustees must remember they would require a very large addition to their present means to re-establish it in London. It would be impossible to obtain there services such as they required for the small, the pitiful amount of remuneration with which several of the Professors in Manchester were contented. It would be an insult to such men to ask them to remove to London, unless they (the Trustees) were prepared to offer them salaries corresponding in amount to the requirements of London expenditure. Whence did they hope to obtain the required increase of funds? They were proposing to sever the tie which bound the people of the North of England to the College. From the North it had always derived the great bulk of its subscriptions and benefactions. His acquaintance now with the congregations and Unitarian institutions of the South of England was, perhaps, not great; but he certainly knew nothing to justify large expectations of pecuniary support to the College from that quarter. Such being the case, he put it to the Trustees whether they could reconcile it with common prudence to endanger the welfare, if not the very permanence of the College, by unnecessary removal from Manchester. Could they think it right to quit all the advantages which Manchester now offered for their acceptance? It would, in his view, be rash in the extreme to abandon the present establishment until at least

the experiment of a partial junction with Owens College had been tried. Possibly, that experiment might fail; possibly, a more intimate acquaintance with that institution might develop weaknesses not now known. But with regard to that, he must remind them that the inexpensiveness of the experiment would leave them a large balance of income, wherewith they could supply the instruction which experience might prove to be wanting. But if the experiment ultimately failed, they were in scarcely a worse condition than before. A little time would be lost, but that would be all: there would be no costly breaking up of the existing establishment—no election of new Professors—no legal strife—no necessity for the cost and hazard of an Act of Parliament. After a fair trial of Owens College, and when it was proved not to supply their wants, all parties would concur in an united effort to re-establish the College in London. He must not sit down without noticing the appeal which had been made to the generosity of feeling of the Lancashire party. He believed he should not be found really wanting in the feeling. He could promise them he would be no party to any factious opposition to the new plans. He should continue his support, and he should rejoice if experience proved that his fears were without foundation. If the resolution were carried, it would, however, be an act of necessity, of simple justice to the institution, for him to retire from the office which he had held for several years, and leave the Secretaryship to be filled by some one possessing that faith in the success and even safety of their plans which he wanted.

Rev. Charles Wicksteed stated that he was not going to argue the question generally, but simply to reply to one or two points in the speech just addressed to them. Mr. Aspland appeared to be oppressed by fear of the additional expense which the establishment of the College in London would occasion, and asked where the required funds were to be drawn from. He must have forgotten the Report which he himself had a hand in drawing up. In that Report, now in their hands, it was stated that the abandonment of the literary and scientific establishment would leave a balance of £630 in the hands of the Trustees.* Here, then, were the funds for which anxious inquiry was made. But Mr. Aspland had no confidence in the zeal and energy of the South of England. He (Mr. W.) was astonished at the remarkable manner in which the exertions of their friends in London had been overlooked. Here was the striking fact, that during fifty or sixty years the Trustees of Manchester College had acquired a property estimated at £15,000, while in the course of one or two years their friends in London, aided by a few country subscriptions, had erected a magnificent Hall, which with its fittings-up was estimated to be worth at least £10,000 or £11,000. The zeal and generosity evinced by their friends in London entitled them to all the confidence that was now asked in their behalf.

Thomas Ainsworth, Esq., rose to reply to one or two statements which had been made, with which he could not agree. Mr. Aspland had argued that Manchester College had the confidence of the Unitarians of the North of England, and from them derived the bulk of its support. But how did the argument agree with the figures stated in the Table appended to the Report by their Treasurer? That Table shewed that in 1841 the subscriptions amounted to £1566, while in 1851 they had dwindled down to £740. He wished also to express his dissent from the opinion of Mr. Higginson respecting the intercourse that should, and he believed would, take place between the divinity and lay students, if they were educated at the same institution. He was disposed to attribute a very large and wholesome influence to the intercourse between the two classes of young men, and especially that which divinity students in the advanced years of their course would exercise over their young lay companions. What Dr. Hutton had stated as the result of his experience as a divine, he begged to confirm as the result of his as a layman. With respect to the question of removing the College, he entertained a strong opinion. He had counted the cost, and thought he was much more

* In the Report, at p. 9, "the cost of educating a student at *Owens College*" is set down in detailed figures, and the Report concludes with this passage, to which reference above is made: "This would give an average cost per session for each student of £16. 15*s.* 9*d.* If the average number of divinity students be estimated at ten, the cost to Trustees of Manchester New College will be £167. 17*s.* 6*d.* If the cost of the present Literary and Scientific department be £800, the new arrangement would leave a balance of £632 at the disposal of the Trustees."

alive than some of the gentlemen who had preceded him to the probable consequences of the change. He was not unprepared for the retention in Manchester by force of law of the whole of their vested funds, which yielded an income of about £800. This he admitted they might lose; but the annual subscriptions, the congregational collections, and the grants from other educational funds, were all voluntary, and could not be coerced by law or Parliament. He did not suppose that any friends of the College would withdraw their subscriptions in the event of a change of locality. He confessed that he was not quite disinterested in his support of the resolution affirming the propriety of connecting their institution with University College. As a father, he looked forward to the time when his children, if their lives were spared and he possessed his present means, should enjoy the best advantages of a Collegiate education. As an Unitarian, he was most desirous that they should receive it in company with other Unitarians, and particularly of those in the course of education for the ministry. But strong as that wish was, if the College were retained in Manchester, he could not gratify it. As a parent, he could not send his sons to Manchester for their higher education. To London he should send them with perfect satisfaction.

Rev. John Wright wished, as one educated at Manchester, to express his opinion on the important question before them. He thought he was able to bear testimony of some value—testimony which no one could equally give who had not been brought up in the College since its return to Manchester. Judging from his own recollection, he should say that the influence exercised on and by Manchester in the formation of the ministerial character was invaluable. He believed that this was beyond all other considerations. He admitted the force of what had been urged in behalf of an union with Owens College; but after all he considered that the object of Manchester College, wherever it was placed, should be not so much to make accomplished scholars as to form useful and devoted ministers. If they are to be zealous and practical ministers, they must from an early period of life habitually mingle with the class of persons amongst whom they are to labour. Where you have one active Sunday-school teacher in London, you have ten in Manchester and its immediate neighbourhood. To the successful career of a divinity student, it is necessary that he should have graduated opportunities, commencing very early, of acquiring practice as a preacher. He would ask, supposing the divinity school were in London, where the young men should make their first pulpit essays? Would they wish them to stand unpractised at once before a London congregation? If not, where had they, within a reasonable distance of the metropolis, congregations amongst whom the students could acquire the necessary confidence and skill? In this respect, as with respect to those philanthropic influences which it was so important for the mind of a young minister to imbibe, Manchester could not be surpassed. Not only did Manchester offer these advantages to the students, but it also gave facilities for finding suitable Professors. They had been reminded by Mr. Kenrick, indeed, that it was a mere accident that three of the Professors of the College were ministers to three of the principal congregations of Manchester and Liverpool. But they might be also reminded, that these three congregations were not the only ones in the district which furnished ministers of ability and position capable of undertaking the office of Professors. With regard to the argument brought against Manchester and urged by Mr. Ainsworth against Mr. Aspland's view of the subject, that the large subscription list of 1841 had greatly diminished, the fact was not only stated, but thus accounted for in the body of the Report: "This great falling off is accounted for by the fact that most of the advanced and large subscriptions of 1841 were given with the distinct understanding that they were temporary, and were to cease as soon as the experiment of the success of the College at Manchester should be fairly tried."

William Enfield, Esq., expressed his intention to vote for the original resolution. Mr. Yates had expressed more than a doubt whether in accordance with strict legality it could be adopted; but the amendment seemed to him to involve as much difficulty as the original resolution. Objections had been unnecessarily made to a spirit of centralization. He did not see what that consideration had to do with the question before them.

Rev. James Martineau said objections had been made to the proposal to remove to London on the ground of imperfect discipline alleged to exist in some of the classes of University College. In the Committee, special allegations had

been made of deficiencies and want of control in particular classes. He had, since the meeting of the Special Committee, had the opportunity of inquiring into the present condition of the classes, and he found that there was nothing new or unusual in the manner of conducting the classes, and that the Professors were quite satisfied with the attention and docility of their students. As to the legal objection to their power to remove the College, it appeared to him to rest on no well-defined principle, but to be merely technical. He had listened to the argument of Mr. Yates, and particularly to the statement respecting the prescribed manner of breaking up the College. It appeared to him that those who took the legal objection were on one or other of the horns of a dilemma. The limitation of the foundation to the locality of Manchester was one of two things—either it was an essential principle, or it was a mere matter of regulation. If as a mere matter of regulation the Trustees in 1803 determined to remove it to York, then by the same process the Trustees of 1852 could remove it to London. If, however, the locality was an essential principle, then the College on the removal to York actually determined. The link which connected it with the foundation of 1786 was irretrievably broken. It was, in fact, a new institution. It must in that case be held that the Trustees, when they first closed the doors of the College at Manchester, exercised their power of declaring that the institution was a failure. According to this view, the existing College was taken entirely out of the range of the founders' intent. This view appeared to him entirely to blunt the edge of the weapon used by Mr. Yates. There could be no doubt that whatever the legal difficulty was, it could be entirely cured by an Act of Parliament. But, notwithstanding all they had heard, he had faith enough in the good sense and desire of unity which existed amongst the Trustees, to believe that better counsels would prevail than some which had been that day hinted at. With respect to the general question, he had certainly altered his opinion; but the change was the consequence of the different aspect in which it now presented itself to their view. When he advocated the continuance of the College in Manchester, it was an entire institution, offering instruction in the various branches of University learning, maintaining an attitude that comported with the dignity of their body. But now they proposed to dismantle the institution of its literary and scientific department, to cut themselves down to a theological school. And they had no choice in the matter. An institution had been created in Manchester more perfect than their own. Practically there was no course for the Trustees but a junction with Owens or University College. Of the former, though its prospects might be bright and the talents of the Professors unexceptionable, it was confessedly an untried institution. Between an infant institution like that and University College, with its proved capabilities and its years of service, there could be no hesitation in making a choice. They had heard that day an animated appeal to them to support Owens College as the representative in that district of free education. But every argument adduced to prove their obligation to support a local institution, applied with still greater force to the older institution, which years ago began to offer education without religious tests. He hoped, whatever the decision might be, they were likely to attain to something like unity. It was time that these divisions should cease. They should prove to the world that they were, as a religious body, by their individual forbearance and their united action, capable of working out a large and noble institution. They must, in respect to theological instruction, look carefully a-head. The time was coming when the religious principles to which they were attached would have to pass through a very great conflict, and they could only stand the shock by strengthening themselves with an advanced intellectual culture and the highest attainments of philosophy and theology. He was not one to expect that the Unitarian denomination would ever acquire a strong hold or exercise a wide influence over the uneducated masses of English society; but he did anticipate that they might exercise a great, and, if they were faithful to their position, an increasing influence upon men of the largest culture and most in advance of the age. He thought it a far better policy to work that vein of society than to attempt to compete with the popular sects. He thought the position of the Unitarian body in England not very unlike that of the Episcopalian Church in Scotland. That was a Church of a small minority, but it was a cultivated minority. He had been struck with the remark of Sir William Hamilton on the subject. He said that, looking to their position as the Church of a minority, they had always felt the neces-

sity of keeping up a high intellectual and literary standard amongst their clergy. The same policy became the Unitarians of this country. Small though their numbers were, they should prove themselves inferior to none in cultivation and true learning. No one, he thought, could correctly estimate their position without seeing that they would best vindicate their claim to respect, and fulfil the condition now stated, by joining an institution like University College.

J. B. Estlin, Esq., said he was the son of one of the founders of Manchester College. This fact, and the circumstance that he was the only representative present of Trustees residing in the West of England, gave him perhaps some claim on their attention. He, too, desired to advert to Mr. Bache's remarks on the duty of supporting Owens College, because it was expressly founded to promote the higher education, untrammelled by religious tests. He admitted that might be deserving of their consideration; but he could hardly conceive that, under any circumstances, members of their religious body would fail in their duty to an institution founded on such principles. He did not hesitate to state that he was much more of a *sectarian* than some chose to be. He wished to see strictly Unitarian views and interests promoted. He saw at the present moment that a considerable increase was required to the number of Unitarian ministers. He did not know how they were to be supplied. It was evident that some alteration was required in their Collegiate plans. Whatever the decision of the meeting might be, the College might always feel assured of the continuance of his support. His opinions were strong—increasingly with his years—in favour of Unitarianism—of what was sometimes called old-fashioned Unitarianism, and he should be glad to see the College promoting that cause. If carried to London, he hoped it would do much to enlighten their body as to the religious wants of the age, and also prove a centre of attraction and well-earned influence. It was his intention to vote for the original resolution.

The discussion had now lasted between three and four hours, and, no one rising to prolong it, there were general cries for a vote. The President proceeded to put the question, and the numbers were declared by him to be—

For Mr. Yates's amendment..17
Against it 33
Majority against the amendment—16
For Mr. Kenrick's resolution, 36.

There was a cry, "Let it be passed *nemine contradicente*;" but on the negative being put, three or four hands were held up against it. The announcement that the resolution was adopted was received in silence.

The second resolution was moved by Thomas Ainsworth, Esq., seconded by James Heywood, Esq., M.P., and adopted without a division—"That the following gentlemen, Rev. J. Kenrick, Visitor, the Treasurer, the Chairman of the Committee, the Secretaries, the Rev. J. H. Thom, the Rev. Charles Wicksteed, and J. Pemberton Heywood, Esq., constitute a Special Committee, to consider the most advantageous mode of establishing Manchester New College in London, with full powers to negotiate with the Council of University Hall, with the view more especially of providing for Lay and Divinity Students the means of a common religious and ethical culture; and that after completing such negotiations and constructing a scheme for the future working of the College, they be directed to report on the result to the Trustees at their next annual meeting, if possible,—and if not, at as early a period as they find to be practicable."

S. Dukinfield Darbishire, Esq., the Treasurer, moved, and Robert Worthington, Esq., Secretary, seconded the next resolution—"That the General Committee, with a view to carry out the new arrangements in contemplation, be instructed to give formal notice to the Professors of the termination of their engagements with the College at the close of the present session."

Rev. R. Brook Aspland said, before that resolution was put, he wished to say a word respecting the services of the gentlemen to whom it referred. They all knew the embarrassing and depressing circumstances under which for several years the College had laboured. Embarrassment and disappointment had been felt by all engaged in the conduct of the institution, whatever might be their department of duty, but on none was it calculated to press with a greater weight of anxiety than on the Professors, whose duty it was to give their valuable instructions to mere skeleton classes, instead of to the crowds whom their admirable lectures ought to have attracted. Depressing as the circumstances were, both within and without the College, from the limited number of pupils and the alienation of friends, the Professors had never for an instant given way to indifference—which might, under

circumstances of neglect so little deserved, have been almost pardonable. The periodical examinations and the honours from time to time achieved by their pupils in the University of London, proved beyond a doubt how faithfully the Professors had done their duty to the College. All of them were entitled to this expression of respect and gratitude. If he mentioned one name in particular, that of their Classical Professor (Eddowes Bowman, Esq.), it was because that gentleman had, when their students were numerically at the lowest point, increased instead of contracting the number of his classes, in order that he might suit his instructions to the attainments and wants of each pupil. He had, in fact, superadded the labours of a private tutor to those of a public lecturer. Such services entitled him and his colleagues to the respect and gratitude of the Trustees; and whatever differences prevailed amongst them on other subjects, he trusted on this there would be but one opinion. (Loud expressions of assent were given from every part of the room.)

Rev. JOHN KENRICK said he was enabled by his position, formerly as Principal and now as Visitor, to know minutely the circumstances of the instruction given in the College, and he could confirm from his own knowledge Mr. Aspland's statement respecting the zealous and very valuable services of the Professors. (It was agreed that the Committee should prepare a resolution on the subject and forward it to the Professors.) The resolution was carried.

The President having vacated the chair, it was taken by Rev. John Kenrick; and on the motion of JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., seconded by Rev. JOSEPH HUTTON, LL.D., a cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman was unanimously passed.

THE PAST YEAR.

Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-two is become matter of history. In the annals of England no year will record a greater amount of widely-diffused prosperity. The national income, notwithstanding diminished and remitted duties, exceeds its expenditure. The necessaries of life have been plentiful, the demand for labour constant and increasing. The bullion in the Bank of England has increased nearly a third. Tested by the working of the Poor-law, the comforts and independence of the poorer classes have been rising. In the year 1851, the decrease of expenditure in 607 unions was more than £40,000, there being a decrease in England in 33 out of 42 shires or ridings. The report of 1852 may be anticipated as still more favourable. Political discontent has entirely ceased. Chartism is utterly dead, and trading agitators find their vocation gone. The triumphant result of the great experiment of Free Trade made by Sir Robert Peel and the Government which succeeded his, is now admitted even by its opponents. The prosperity, contentment and heartfelt loyalty of England, bear a proud testimony to the value of free institutions and liberal principles of government. As the result of our constitutional and representative government, there is a larger amount of personal liberty, a heartier patriotism, and a more enthusiastic attachment to the Monarch, than is to be found in any other portion of Europe or of the world. The prosperity that has shone on her people has, during the past twelve months, equally lighted up the palace of Queen Victoria. Her own and Prince Albert's career of patriotism and personal virtue, has won for them the respect and love of the people, who feel to a man that their welfare is bound up with the security of her throne. If we turn our eyes from England to France, the contrast deepens our gratitude for our national privileges. The *Republic* of that unhappy country virtually died with those victims of the craft and vengeance of Louis Napoleon, whose blood watered the streets of Paris in December, 1851. When, three months after (March 30), the Prince President declared to the Legislative Chambers that he had no purpose to restore the Empire, and added, "Let us keep the Republic—it menaces nobody, but reassures every one,"—not one intelligent person in all Europe was deceived by the declaration. The establishment of the Empire before the close of the year made little real alteration in the condition of France, for the government was previously absolutely despotic. On the future of the Empire, and of the bold, bad man who has usurped its throne, it is painful to speculate. Who does not fear national suffering, if not individual atonement? In Austria, despotism is working its iron and disastrous rule. The constitution is revoked, and trial by jury abolished.

To return to England—nothing is more remarkable during the year than the tide of emigration, occasioned by the gold discoveries, especially the more recent ones in Australia. In the summer quarter, there sailed from English ports no

less than 109,236 persons; and for the first time since our present registration system commenced, the returns indicate a population during the three months diminished by not less than 60,000 persons. Whatever other results, whether of good or evil, the extensive discoveries of gold may occasion to us, they have solved the long perplexing problems involved in a redundant population and the difficulties of emigration. Political economists had long looked at these questions in despair, and said that war, famine and pestilence were necessary, and were the only terrible remedy appointed by Providence to cure the evils of a population outgrowing the supply of food and employment. In its own way and time is God's providence vindicated. A new and unthought-of field of enterprize is suddenly opened to view, and individual energy, aided by the wonderfully developed resources of steam-ships, at once effects what the most powerful governments of Europe wished, but knew not how to accomplish. Our labour market is relieved, while that of our Australian colonies receives the long-needed supplies; and from the energy and intelligence of the hundreds and thousands of our citizens now become dwellers in the Southern hemisphere, long-enduring results, affecting the whole world for centuries to come, may ensue.

In the retrospect of the year, we must remember that we passed through the severe trial to national faith and virtue of a general election. There was more than enough on one side of duplicity and hardihood and organized bribery; on the other, of mutual division and general indifference. We trembled for a time for the result. It is strange that, when the question really at issue was, whether trade were to continue free or again to receive some of the fetters so recently struck off by the bold and patriotic hand of Sir Robert Peel, the answer given was not all but unanimous. It is little short of being disgraceful to the English constituencies, that at a crisis so full of peril they returned a Parliament containing about two hundred Members who, if they could, would again tax the people's bread. But as the result of the elections was in favour of Free Trade—and that decision was confirmed by every fact bearing on the question—we are now relieved from one bad element of party strife, by the final surrender of the doctrine of Protection. This is so great a gain, and so expedites the future legislation of the country, that it is a sufficient reward for the cost and other inconveniences of a general election. Nor shall we repine if it turn out, as it probably will, that another general election must follow very soon. With much admiration of Lord Derby's skill as a rhetorician and a debater (*satis loquentiæ, parum sapientiæ*), and of Mr. D'Israeli's versatility of genius, we cannot but feel thankful that they have ceased to be Ministers of a great and free country like England. During the continuance of the elections, their course was one of equivocation; but when they saw that government on their own principles was impracticable, they hastened to assume those of their opponents, which they had for years denounced as fraught with ruin to the country. There was in this an amount of political profligacy which deserved (and we are thankful it has received) the censure of the Representatives of the People. If success had attended political dishonesty like this, consistency and honour might have ceased to be attributes of the British Statesman. The Government which is about to replace Lord Derby's Cabinet will have, owing to the lukewarmness evinced at the last election, great difficulties to encounter in the present Parliament; and without some forbearance on the part of the more earnest reformers of abuses, and considerable support from men of all parties who value moderation, they will scarcely be able to stem the tide of faction which threatens to oppose them.

The year has not been entirely unmarked by losses and calamities. Statesmen have in both the Old world and the New been removed. America has lost Henry Clay and Daniel Webster—both gifted with rare eloquence, and enjoying the confidence of large sections of the republic. England lost in the Duke of Wellington, who had, however, been spared to a great age, an upright patriot and one of the most honoured of her sons.—Amongst the calamities of the year must be mentioned the loss of the Amazon steam-packet by fire, on her voyage to the West Indies, occasioning the sacrifice of ninety-six lives. Still greater was the loss of both life and property by the inundation of Holmfirth, in Yorkshire, through the bursting of an ill-constructed and ill-tended reservoir. Both events called into active exercise the compassionate liberality of the British public; and in the latter case, the amount subscribed proved to exceed by more than a third the amount of loss which charity could with propriety offer to compensate.

The religious retrospect of the year

1852, offers comparatively little for comment. The Church of Rome has shewn in every European country, and not least in Ireland, a passionate hatred of all free institutions, and a sympathy with despotism of the worst kind—as the dungeon of the Medaia at Florence, and the sycophant homage of Louis Napoleon by all orders of the Church in France, attest.

The Church of England has been disturbed by the unwise agitation respecting the Convocation, for the restoration of which the clergy raise a clamour, but which all her prudent friends believe would, if conceded, tend only to foster internal dissension and weakness. The clergy do not improve in tolerant and Christian feelings towards those who decline conformity to the established worship. Symptoms not few have been observed of the superiority of the laity of the Church in this respect to their spiritual guides.

The Methodist body is rent asunder by divisions, the consequences of priestly domination and intolerant exclusion. But for the occasional manifestation of the latter spirit, the Independents claim to be mentioned with respect and honour for their zeal, public spirit, and we believe we may truly add, the increasing liberality of the more educated portion of their body.

Of our own body we might say much, dwelling on many defects, and commending much excellence; but we forbear. If the number of professed adherents be the test of the strength of a body, we are still weak indeed. But if the acceptance and increasing prevalence of their essential principles amongst thoughtful persons of all classes and opinions, give a religious denomination a title to respect from others and confidence and congratulation amongst themselves, the Unitarians of England need not

"abate
A jot of heart or hope."

This is the way in which minorities, possessing truth and the right, influence the world. They themselves are neglected, or even reviled, but their principles are adopted and honoured.

OBITUARY.

Dec. 4, at Chichester, aged 72, Mrs. Fullagar, wife of the Rev. John Fullagar, for more than thirty years pastor of the Unitarian chapel in that city. Mrs. F. was the youngest daughter of the late Edward Scales, of Stoke Newington, Esq. Fond of reading, her mind was well stored with subjects of general conversation; while the Scriptures furnished her with a perennial source of delight, and from their perusal her religious views were decidedly Unitarian. She interfered not with the opinions of others, though with her the mysteries of the Trinity and the reveries of Swedenborg were of nearly equal importance. A cheerful, fervent, devotional spirit actuated her whole conduct, displaying itself in homage to her Maker by a regular attendance in the house of her God; none of the weak excuses for absence, so well stated by the late Rev. S. Wood in one of his sermons, were suffered to interrupt this regularity: while the same spirit was displayed towards her fellow-creatures, not merely by general courtesy of manners, but by the warmest friendship and the most unselfish and tender concern for all around her. For more than the last eight years of her life she suffered intensely from an incessant neuralgic affection in the arm, which baffled all medical skill, and to the cause of which no clue was furnished by a *post-mortem* examination. In this trying providence, her Heavenly Father seemed to be illustrating the remark of his well-beloved Son, "Every branch that BEARETH FRUIT, he *pruneth*, that it may *bring forth more fruit*;" for the holy fruit of cheerful resignation, unfolding itself more and more day by day, could not but be observed by the slightest acquaintance, and long will this exalted piety endear her memory to those who from their intimacy with her had an opportunity of duly appreciating it, with the other varied virtues that composed her character. The Rev. H. Hawkes, of Portsmouth, officiated at her grave, and preached her funeral sermon, appropriately choosing the 13th and following verses of the fourth chapter of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians as the basis of his discourse; for her dismissal from life was so easy, it was gone before those around her bed were aware that the eye had gently closed on earth for ever. She truly fell asleep in Jesus; and blessed is the Christian survivor to know that those who thus fall asleep, will God "bring with him."